A TRVE report of all the doynges at the assembly cõcernyng matters of Religion, lately holden at Poyssy in Fraunce. Written in Latine by Maister Nicholas Gallasius, minister of the Frenche Churche in London, and then present, & one of the disputers in the same, trãslated into English, by .I.D. 1561.

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Seen and allowed accordyng to the order appoynted by the Queenes Maiesties iniunctions.

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BIBLIOTHECA

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¶ To the ryghte honorable, the Lord Frauncis Russel, Earle of Bedford, and one of the Queenes Maiesties priuye councell, Nicholas Gallasius.

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IMmediatly after my retourne into thys Realme, (ryghte honourable) I thought nothyng more requisite, than to shewe the cause of my lōg pylgrymage. That bothe all menne maye vnderstande, why I haue bene so long absente from my churche: and also what was the ende of that assemblye, where I was, and eke what fruite, I reaped of my trauayle therein. For I vnderstande, that sondrye rumours haue bene spred thereof, and that manye haue eatiye perswaded themselues, that whiche they most desired.

So that in these oure tymes I fynde it most true, which long synce was spoken. Namely, that the people iudgeth, and now measure most thynges accordyng to there owne opynion, and very fewe accordyng to the truth. Whiche foolysshe iudgements to withstand, I counted it paine well spente, not onely by word of mouth, to certifie my frēdes and familyers, but also to put in writing, to the sight and reading of al mē, the late doinges betwixt vs, and ỹ prelates at Poyssye. Whiche as symply & playnelye: so I protest to doe truly and faythfullye. As they themselues, which were presēte at the doynge therof, can witnesse. Great, sure was the expectacion of this assemblye and cōference. And not wout cause. For neuer hereto fore in Fraunce were we quyetlye heard, or admitted to the defence of our cause: but rather without cause, condēned, banysshed and imprysoned. Now therefore it was no maruell, yf with thys straūge and sodayn chaūce, mens myndes were in greate expectacion, & had conceyued good hope. Especiallye, forasmuchs as the truthe shyneth of it

selfe,

selfe, & wareth so much ẏ more mighty, as men with greate force and suttelty, assay to suppresse it. But they must not thynke, that we were heard of them, which were drywen thereto for ẏ most part agaynst there willes, & altogether enforced thereto, by the necessitye of common commaundemente. For they would alwayes, either haue vs put to sylence, oure mouthes stopped, or els referred to there greate God at Trent: only necessitye therefore made vs audience. Bycause no otherwise, the feare of imminent perils could be repressed, nor they thẽselues which hate vs most, haue prouided for their own quietnes. Wherfore, al be it they fayned, that they were wiling to come to cõference, yet they cõtinued with vs only so long, as they hoped in the meane tyme, they myght well content the Kynge and the nobles, and appease the cõmons. For to leaue of the seuerall discourse, al theyr doinges generally, but chiefly their departure, whereby they brake the conference, sufficiẽtly disclosed, what their purpose was. Whiche if we consider, certainly we shall marueil that we dyd

so often come to talke, and wer suffred so long to pleade our cause. But wont respecting the councels or iudgements of men, we must weye the prouidēce of God, wherby he preuenteth al perilles, and geueth a happy and lucky ende, to doubtfull beginninges. For god which neuer faileth those that are his, hathe farre exceded our hope and expectatiō. For who thought ẏ albeit we wer sent for, yet many beyng vnwilling, & some striuing against it, we should, be heard at all, who sawe not a thousande wyles prepared for vs, wherby we myghte eyther be put to death or silence: After ẏ we wer once heard with ẏ great grudge of all ẏ bishops, who would haue hoped, for the seconde, or third meetyng: Who thought not, that, we were led, as prysoners to pleade oure cause? And where as moste vniuste condityons were offered vs whereby the Bishops mynded to shame vs, and win themselues a glorious victory: who thought not that we woulde streyght haue broken of, and hauing so good occasyon offered vnto vs, woulde forthwith ceasse from conference.

Yet

Yet we chose rather to abyde al perilles, yea, and to muche wrong, rather than we woulde geue any occasyon to breake of ỹ conference. We gaue vp a confession of ours fayth, that is to say, of all the churches in Fraunce that profesſe the ghospell. To maintain and defende the same, we wer alwayes readie. Or if the bishops would haue shewed forth any of theirs, we promised ofte to conferre therof: & to confute it, if ther were in it any thyng, not agreable to the woorde of God. But we coulde neuer get them together without great entreatye, or continuall callyng on them. At the laſte, when they neyther coulde nor durſte, openly to breake of the conferences, once begonne by the Kyngs cõmaundement, they thoughte good by litle and litle, to looſe, & breake of. For firſte from the great audyence, in the whyche we were firſt heard wyth greate companye, reſtrained in a more narowe place, we were admitted onely to the number of .xii. where they had a greate companye of their monkes and doctours. Neither yet did this order pleaſe them long.

For at the laste, the matter was referred to fiue on ether part, and yet afterwardes, those that wer chosen for them because they wer graue and quiet men, they said, wer neuer appoynted therto, by their consent. For they thought thē to much bent to peace & concord, which they hate. All these pollicies, attempted (as it semed in vayn) without any answere geuing vs, or any parte of theyr mindes signified vnto vs, they departed. But although this labor may seme emploied in vain, wherof their apeares ether no end, or els no certain conclusion: yet neuertheles herby is made manifest to al men, howe great is ỹ power of truth, which can be suppressed by no might of mē, by no wile, nor guile. For she feareth her aduersaries, she constraineth her defēders and patrones & maketh thē to be feared, albeit thei are few and smal of force: she vanquisheth and rooteth out all error, be it neuer so depe rooted: she detecteth and chaseth deceites and lies, euen as the light with her beames doth the darknesse: to conclude, although manye yeares, she hath lien hydden and suppressed, yet at ỹ last

she becomes vanquisher of all her foes. Which forasmuche as the lorde daily proueth before our eyes, truely we are vnkinde, and vnthankefull, vnlesse we mindefully weye it. Least therefore the fame of these doynges should dye, least they shold be falsified with lyes, or blotted with false tales, immediately after my retourne, I wrote the note thereof, and described all thynges euen as they wer done. But whiles I doubted, vnder whose name I might best publishe the same, your honor cam forthwith to my minde, to whom for great fauoure and gentlenesse I am much bounden, and not I onely, but as many els, as beyng true worshippers of god, are fled hither for religion. To your highnes therfore, I haue dedicated the same, ý forasmuch as you are muche enflamed with the desire of godlinesse & religion, and with the banishment of error and deceit, you may hereby plainly se, how ý lord worketh in our realme of Fraunce, howe ý gospel encreaseth ther, w̄ what patiẽce & modesty, we suffred our aduersaries and also what hope we may conceue, of thinges to come. Neither can I wyth

silence ouerpasse, how much the example of the happy and quiete gouernmēt of this flourishing realme, and the authoritie of all the nobles of this realme that fauoure the gospell, and chiefly of the moste noble and gracious Queene Elizabeth, hath ayded vs to stoppe the mouthes of our aduersaries, which are alwayes wont to obiect, that with the chaunge of religion, the chaunge and disorder of the rēalme will likewise ensue. For bothe hye and lowe would laye vnto them the example of this florysh-ing realme, whose state hath neuer ben more quiet, than since the times that the most noble Queene Elizabeth, resto-red religion defaced by her sister to the auncient puritie and sinceritie. For, what may more winne the fauour of ỹ people to the Prince, than pure religiō and zele of truthe. Then at the last doe men perfectly knowe theyr duetyes to their Princes, when first they knowe their duetye to God, by whom Princes are appointed as vicars or lieuetenāts And those thynges whiche your honor yet sayde and reasoned, touchyng thys argumente, and the mayntaynyng of

true

true religion, when you were sent into Fraunce to congratulate oure Kyng, yet sticke imprinted in the myndes of many. Neyther haue ye left any suttle spurres or prouokementes to vertue, in the mindes of suche as are Godlye, with the president of youre vpryght lyuing, gentlenesse, liberalitie, and youre true and sincere Zele, whereby when I perceiued, that thei prouoked and encouraged, wished so well to your honor as they ought. I thought I should pleasure them also, if to you, whome I knowe to embrace and defende al godlinesse, I should present these newes, whiche bothe to all men, but chiefly to such as are patrones and defenders of ỹ truth, ought well to bee knowen.

¶ The proclamacion of summons and saue conduit, to the generall consultation of the clergy in Fraunce. Trãslated out of Frenche into Englishe.

HARLES, by the grace of God king of Fraunce, to al our Baylis, Stewards, Prouostes, Judges or their Lieutenauntes & other oure Justices & officers, to whõ it shal apertaine, Greting. Forasmuch as in ỹ generall assemblie, whiche we presentely cause to be made, of the Prelates of our Realme, for the causes conteined in the Letters which we haue heretofore written vnto them, it hath semed to vs right requisite ỹ al our subiects which concernyng ỹ same causes shall

haue any thinge to saye, or that will be heard in ỹ saine assẽblie, may there be and appere in all safetye, for ỹ hope that we haue by this meane to receiue a good and holy resolution: For thys cause we by ỹ aduise of our most honored Lady and mother the Queene, of our moste dere and moste beloued vncle the king of Nauarre, of the princes of our bloud, and other Lordes of our Counsell, haue permitted & doo permit by these presentes, to all our said subiects, of what estate qualitie or cõdition soeuer they be, whiche shall haue, as is aboue said, any thing to shew, may safely, freely, and without any feare, come, appere and be heard in ỹ said assemblie, which we make to be holdẽ here nere vnto vs in our town of Poysy,

and

and there to tary and soiourne so long as ꝑ same shall endure, and afterwarde to returne and depart in like safety & libertye, where and as to thē shall seme good. And to this ende we haue by these presentes geuen & doo geue to them good and lawfull surety, most expressly cōmaundyng all persones whatsoeuer they be, our subiectes or other, not to misdo or millay in dede nor in worde, in any sort whatsoeuer it be, to them that shall come, as is afore said, to the said assemble, vpō peine of ꝑ * with. Enioyning likwise to those our said subiectes which shall come for this entente, that vpon like paines, they behaue and order thē selues mildely & modestly, & without stirring vp any troubles or seditions. And to ꝑ ende

that

that this our presēte permissiō, will, and entent may be open & manifest to all men, we will & cōmaund you by these presētes, that vpō reteite therof, ye cause ỹ same to be red and published in all places of your assemblies accustomed to make cries and proclamacions, to the end that no man pretend excuse of ignorance, and that they which shal haue cause to be at ỹ said assēbly may be & appere there in tyme. Geuen at Sainct Germaines in Laye ỹ. xxv. day of July in the yeare of grace M.D.Lx.I. and of our reigne the fyrst.

By the King. Robertet.

¶ A brieſe reherſal of the doings at Poyſſye, betwixt the Lordes of the ſpiritualty, and the Miniſters of the Goſpel. Set forth by B. Gallaſius.

Whereas there hath bin in Fraũce theſe many yeares, great ſtrife and contentiõ for religiõ, ỹ which hath cauſed muche cruelty to be exerciſed towardes many: at the laſt, when the authors thereof perceiued, that their punyſhmentes litle profited, and that thintentes of ſuch as were Godly, were therby neyther altered nor diminiſhed, they wer compelled to aſſaye more gentle meanes, farr vnlyke the firſt. Therefore in the yeare of our Lord God. 1561. Charles, the ninth of that name, a Prynce of ſynguler towardlyneſſe, and of great hope, then reigning, the peres of the realme mynded tymely to withſtande the peril likely to enſue in ſo great a diſcorde. For now, their number encreaſing whyche

profeſſed the goſpel, many yll diſpoſed perſons began newe tumultes, and to moue ſeditiō. Yea and many opēly put thēſelues in armour. Some of ỹ realme would haue the goſpel opēly preached. Some other, would haue that doctrine as newe, and hurtfull, to be condemned and aboliſhed.

The firſt ſort, deſyrous of freedom, and quietneſſe, complayned of their ſory banyſhments, murthers, impriſonments, and their moſt miſerable eſtate: wiſhing the ſhame and reproche, wherwith thers by they were ſtayned at laſte to be purged. The others cōtrarywiſe, wiſhe their punyſhmentes double, the ſharpeneſſe of the ſame encreaſed, and all their goods committed to fyre and ſwearde. And, to proue their good wyll by their dedes, they brake into their cōgregatiōs whē they could, they robbed their howſen, and finally exerciſed all kynde of cruelty towardes thē. Which vnlawful & vnbrydeled luſt, when thoſe that profeſſed the Ghoſpel, perceiued they did more ſtrōgly prepare to withſtande them. And many tymes, wyth armed force reſiſted their inuaſyons.

And

And ỳ greater deceites they vnderstode were layed for them, the greater troubles, and persecutions that they felte, the greater alwayes grew their courages, thinking that they ought to withstande the furious rage of their enemies, with patience, and stoute sufferaunce. They all agreed it best, to abstayne frō force. But neuertheles, they meant to prouyde, that their feare & patience, should not encrease the furye and insolence of their foes. First of al therfore, wheras, their number was so great, that the cōgregation could not assemble wythin their priuate howses: they determined to come together openly, and to haue their sermons and readinges in the open congregations. Partly, bicause necessitie enforced them therto, and partly to cleare themselues of such slaunderous reports as already, their impudēt aduersaries had raysed of them. For it was openly bruted, that most haynous and detestable crimes, were committed in their assemblies. Therefore, they came into the yardes and open places: some in their priuate howses, and some in the opē cities. Few toke ỳ churches.

For, least any thing should be rashly or vnaduisedly done, or least their aduersaryes myght haue any couloure, to accuse them of rebellion: the ministers & paslours of euery Churche (as much as they myght) kept the multitude in awe and order yet neuertheleſſe, hereof rose sondry tumultes, and factions of their aduersaryes. Which notwithstanding could not stay or hynder their open metinges. Hereof rose sondry troubles and great suspition, and feare of rebellion. And, thys caused at the last, that by the commaundement of the kyng and hys councell, it was openly proclaimed that none should iniury or molest other, for any matter of religiõ. After thys also was published an other, whereby, as wel the Bishops, as other nobles of the realme, were commaunded to repayre to Poyssye, to deliberate, both for the leauyeng of a tribute, to discharge the kynges dettes to forein Princes, but chefely for ỹ reformyng of the estate of religion. Therby also, the kinges peace and safeconduite was graunted to all suche as woulde come thither, freely to propose, whatsoeuer pertained to true religion,

religion, and the establishing of cõcord. And it was commaunded vnder payne of death, that no mã should trouble the cõming together, assembled, or departing, but that quietly, and freely, they myght mete together, without trouble or veracion. Shortly after, by an Act of parliamẽt, in ỹ which the Bishops and other nobles of the realme, wer not only parties, but rulers: it was decreed vnder paine of death, that hereafter, none should make any assemblies, either for preaching, or for ministring of the Sacramentes, or for mariage: other where, than in the Churches, or after any other sorte, than the olde and accustomed maner. And furthermore, that wythin a certayne space, the ministers that professed the Gholspell, should departe the realme of Fraunce. Hereof rose gret trouble. Bicause now their liberty of comming together take away, it was likely, to be greatly preiudicial to the tryall of the whole matter. After thys the nobles met at Poyssye. Shortly after, the ministers of the Gospel, came to the court to the king, which then lay at Saynt Germans, nye to

Poyssye. Thither somwhat afore were come certayne chosen men, sent by the reformed churches, out of the .xii. prouinces, to aduaunce religiõ. These deliberating with the others, determined to offer vp to the king, a boke, in maner of a supplication, wherby they would vpon some meanes, to disputation and conference. Therewithal also, was geuen vp, the cõfession of that faith, which they professed thẽselues ready to maintayne, and defende. Of that boke, the chiefe poyntes were fowre.

First, that no Bishops, nor others of the ecclesiasticall orders, should vsurpe the authoriti of Iudges ouer vs. Forasmuch as it behoueth rather, that they themselues shoulde pleade their owne cause, and stande in triall of reformation.

Secondly, that the king, Queene, and nobilitie, should rule the whole doinges: leasse any trouble might arise. So that, without contention and strife, all matters myght be handeled and decreed.

Thirdly, that al controuersies might be tryed by the worde of god: whereupõ

onely, all our fayth and religion ought to be grounded.

Fourthly, that certayne notaryes and Scribes, should be chosē of eyther part which might faithfully register, whatsoeuer wer done or decreed. Whose notes should be of no credite, vnlesse they were allowed, and confessed of either part. These requestes no man misliked And the kyng answered, that he would take thaduise of his councell, and by his Chauncelour shortly make them an answere: yet thesame was long deferred. Bicause the matter was cōmunicated with the Bishops, without whose councel, or knowledge to do any thing, it semed not mete. For, not only for thys matter of religion, had the kyng assembled them, but also, for the leauyeng of mony, to discharge hys dettes. They waxing proude wyth thys confydence, that the kyng semed to nede their aide: assured themselues, of the obtayning of any thyng agaynste vs, nothyng doutyng the assured conquest of Ladye money. Furthermore, they tryfled and prolonged the tyme,

seking al occasions, to auoide our conference and disputation. For they sayd we were already condemned and that they might not dispute with heretykes. These, and such other like, their accustomed stayes, they began to blase, whiche neuertheless, afterwardes they denied. Boasting, that they wer ready to heare vs. For they were ashamed openly to refuse our conference, sith by their own consent, we were sent for thither. But they fully perswaded themselues, that our courage, or constancy would not be such, as to hasard our lyues, for ỹ speach of our wordes. Duryng this tyme oure nũber increased. For out of euery prouince, not in Fraunce onely, but also, from al the realmes adioyning, as many, as might, without the hynderaunce of their churches, drew thither. Wherfore at ỹ last we chose certayne to ỹ nũber of .xii. whose names wer these. Augustine Malorat, Fraũces of Paulon, John Remonde Merlin, John Mallet, Fraũces Morel, Nicolas Tolye, Theodore Beza, Claudius Bellierus, John Bodwine, John Mirell. John a Tures. Nicolas Gallasius. To these, John So

ma

ma adioyned himselfe, which openly renounced papacy, and subscribed to the doctrine & Discipline of our Churches. Afterwardes came also, the reuerende father in God, Peter Martir, sent for from Tigur. Whose comming was scarsely aeceptable to our aduersaryes, aswell for his singular learning, as also for the maiesty, and authority, which both his Godlinesse, and reuerende age haue gotten hym.

What in thys meane tyme, was don of the Bishops, whyche were assembled at Poyssye, I thynke not good to ouerpasse. For, least any man should thynke they were ydle, I wyl shew wyth what grauer matters they were letted, so y they could not presently heare vs. These questions they disputed amõges themselues.

What ought to be prescribed vnto Bishops. Of ỹ dignities of cathedral churches. Of the Canonicalls, & their exemptions. Of Curates, & their institutiõ, either by presentation, or ordinary collatiõ. Of assigning them a Canonicall portion. Of ỹ lesser (that is to wyt) the ignorant chaplens, and their vnrea-

sonable number. Of the reformation of monasteryes. What should be done of cõmendes. Of the number of benefices, and their incompatibility. What waye hereafter they myght prouide, for churches and Monasteryes in time of vacation. Whether, there myght be any remedy foũde, for so great cõtrouersies as daily ryse of benefyces. Of the excommunicatyõ & censure of ỹ Churche and such lyke. With ỹ which hard & weighty questions, ỹ Bishops occupyed, had so litle leasure, ỹ they could scarse findeany tyme, to employ in the hearyng of vs. What meanes they sought in ỹ meane time to preiudice our matter, it is not to the purpose here to tel, I wil shew onely this one. Which some thought in maner ỹ prologe, or preamble, of the conference ỹ should ensue: ỹ hereby mẽ may know, what credite they ought to geue to such rumors as our aduersariesfalsely spred vpon vs. For, immediatly vpon the departure of Theodore Beza, a rumoure ranne, that he being conuycted by the Cardinall of Lorayne, was turned to the Catholikes (as theycal themselues) and agreed with them, as concerning

cerning the Sacrament (as they terme it) of ꝧ aulter. Of thys tale, what was ꝧ couloure and occasion: I wyll shortly shew. Whē Beza, the day after hys comyng, came to the Queenes presence, in the palayce of the kyng of Nauarre, by whom he was sent for, there beeyng present, the Prince of Conde, the Cardinal of Borbon & diuers other, the Cardinall of Lorayne emonges others beeing there, began to entreate and exhort him, to encline to peace and concorde, saying, that as being abset he had troubled the kyngdom, so now being present he might wel appease it. Hereto, Beza, first shewing, what good wil he had alwayes borne, to the kyng and hys native countrey: aunswered, that he was not of power, to trouble so great a kingdome but muche lesse of purpose to do it, whiche might well appeare by hys writinges, hopyng also, that they should perceyue greater proofe therof, in hys talke. Then the Queene demaunded of hys writynges. Whereupon, the Cardenall takynge occasyon, sayd that he hadde a booke, publyshed in the name of Beza, in the

which

which he red one horrible incõuenīēce, Namely, that Christ, is now so to be sought in his Supper, as afore he tooke vpon hym our flesh, and was borne of ỹ virgin. I haue heard also, (quoth he) that you wrote in a certaine booke, that Christ, is in such sort in his Supper, as he is in a dunghil. With these sayings, al those that were present were greatly offended. But Beza sayd. As for the bookes, if they were present, I myght more certainly aunswere, whether they were myne or no. But as to the first sentence it may wel seeme vnreasonable as it is rehearsed of my Lorde Cardinal. But well vnderstode, and those thinges considered, which go afore it, and folowe it, we shal fynde it most true. But ỹ last is not onely shamefull, but wycked also, and blasphemous. And (I am well assured) can neyther be founde in my writings, nor any others of our part. Ouer passing therfore this last, (in the which, whosoeuer was the author of it, he vttered to playne and manifest a lie,) the Cardinall returned to the first. It were very hard (quod he) that we should haue no more than those olde fathers. Furthermore,

thermore, how could Christes flesche be geuē, afore it was? Then Beza asked of the Cardinall, whether from the beginning of the world, there had ben any Church? he graunted. Also, was not ỳ same Churche, a Church by him, which is the Mediatour betwixt God and mā? There to he agreed also. Is not Christ, the true God and mā, thesame Mediatour? He confessed that also. Then (quod Beza) the communicating of the faythful with Christ, is not to be limited to ỳ tyme, in the which in dede, he ioined his diuinity to our nature. For, that which was not as yet, by ỳ course of nature, was alwayes by power and effect, presente to the eyes of our fayth. Is it not sayd, that Abrahā saw the day of Christ, and reioyced? Also Paule sayeth, ỳ our fathers, did eate the selfe same spirituall foode, and dronke the selfe same spirituall drynke, out of the spirituall rocke which followed them, which rocke was Christ. Hereunto the Cardinall agreed also and adioyned here to that which is written in the Apocalips, that the lamb was slayne from the beginning of the world. Then Beza entreated somwhat

of

of the difference of the olde and newe Testament. From thys question (as it haps many tymes) they fel into the reasoning, of the presence of the body of Christ in his supper. We do not agree (quoth the Cardinal) in the exposition of these wordes of our Lord. This is my body. I graunt (quoth Beza) and I am sory, ỳ we agree no better. But I had rather plainly to graunt it, than to dissemble it. I (quoth the Cardinal) doe teache the children of my diocesse, when they are asked, what is the bread of the body of our Lord, to answere that it is the body of Christ. Do ye disalow that? No (quoth Beza). For it is the saying of Christ. But, ỳ question is, after what sort, the bread is called ỳ body of Christ. For, of those thinges, which are sayd to be, all are not sayd to be after one selfe same sort. And therewith, he touched somewhat of the Sacramental maners of speaking. Wherin, the Cardinal did not much repugne against the sayings of Beza, onely against that place (but the rocke is Christ) whiche Beza cyted; he set this. The worde was made flesh. But he was sone made to leaue ỳ hold.

For

For ẏ which is spokẽ, of a natural and essential cõmunion, far differeth from the Sacramental speach. At ẏ laste this questiõ (quoth Beza) cõsisteth in foure poyntes. The first, is of ẏ signes. The other, of ẏ thing signifyed. The third, of ẏ cõioyning of ẏ signes with ẏ thing signified. The fourth, of the participation of the signes, & ẏ thinges signified by thẽ. As to ẏ first (quoth he) we do not agree, that in ẏ lords Supper, you do appoint onely accidentes in stede of the signes: Whereas we cotinue there, ẏ nature of bread & wine as both the nature of Sacraments requires, & also ẏ holy Scripture teacheth. Here, the Cardinal interrupting hym. Truly (quoth he) I thinke my selfe able enough, to defende transubstantiation. But, I thynk, ẏ deuines might well inough haue left out ẏ doctrine. Neyther would I, ẏ vpõ ẏ poynt, should rest any diuisiõ of our churches. As to ẏ second poynt, (quoth Beza) we do not only say, ẏ ẏ meryte of Christes death & passion is signified vnto vs, by ẏ signes of bread and wyne. But also, the true body, that was crucified for vs, and the true bloud which was shed for vs

and

and to be short, that Christ himself, true God and man, is signified vnto vs, by these visible signes, that oure myndes and vnderstanding may by fayth spiritually beholde hym in heauen, where he now ascēded, resteth. And so, haue ẏ fruition of all hys goods and giftes to lyfe euerlastyng. And that, assone, and as surely, as we see, take, eate & drynke, those corporall and visible signes. The Cardinall agreed hereto, signifying ẏ he was glad to vnderstande it. For that he had heard afore that we taught other wyse. As to the thirde (quoth Beza) we graunt, that there is great difference betwixt common water, & it wherwith we are washed in Baptisme, betwixt breade and wyne whyche we vse commonly, and those which we receiue in the Lordes Supper. For the water in Baptisme, and bread and wyne in the Lordes Supper, be Sacramentes: that is to wyt, visible signes and testimonies of the body and bloud of our Lord. But this chaūge, we do not admit, in the nature of the elementes. But in thys, that they are seuered to an other vse, farre distant from it, whereto naturally they

be appoynted. For whereas naturally they serue, to the nourishment of the bodye, when they become Sacramēts, they represent that, whiche spiritually fedeth and refresheth our soules. Furthermore, this sacramentall chaunge, we attrybute, neither to the Vertue of the worde, whiche any mā pronounceth, neither, to his purpose & intention (as they terme it) but to the power and vertue of god. Whose wil & ordināce, is declared to vs by his worde. In that respect therefore, that the thinge signifyed, is offered and geuen vnto vs of the lord, and that, as trulye, as the signes therof are geuen vnto vs, in that respect, and no other, we acknowledge the coniunction of the signes, which ỹ thinge signified. And so also we saye, that ỹ body and blood of Iesus Christ, in that they are truly geuen vs, and cōmunicated vnto vs, to be truelye present also, in the vse of his supper, neither yet is it therfore to be sayde, that that body, is ether vnder the bread, or in the bread, or with the bread, or in any other place, than in heauen, to the whiche Christ ascended. Wher accor-

dig to his humane nature he remaineth
till he shal come to iudge the quick and
the dead. Then the Cardinall, once a-
gayne affirmynge, that he forced not
Transubstanciatiō, sayde: that Christ
in deede, was to be sought in heauen.
Neuertheles he mired therwith, some-
what of the locall presence of Christe &
the opinyon of certayn Germans ther-
of. And so confounded these matters
together, that it well appeared, he had
not bin muche occupied in that article.
Which, he him selfe witnessed also, sai-
yng that he had spente the most part of
his tyme, in other businesse. I graunt
ye (quoth Beza) that we agre not w
certayne of the Germans, in this third
article. But in this one thing, the grace
of god is fauorable to vs al a like, that
w̄ on consēt, we condemne. Transub-
stanciation, and whatsoeuer dependeth
therupon. And all alyke graunt and
confesse, the lively communicating, of
the body and bloude of Christ. Graūt
ye then (quoth the Cardinall) that we in
ỹ supper, do truely, and substancially ye
Cōmunicate, with the body & bloude of
Jesus Christ: ỹ remaineth (quoth Beza)

For.

For the fourth poynte: We do saye in effect. That the visible sygnes, which naturally are eaten and dronken, are touched with our sences, but the thing signified, namely, the body and bloud of Christ, truely, and wout any coloure or deceit, is offered to al men, but can not otherwyse be receiued but spiritually, & by fayth. For, thei be not receiued, with one hande or mouth. Yet neuertheleſſe, thys communicating is so certayn, that it, which we see wyth our eyes, & touche with our hãds, cã be no surer. Although the misery of this cõmuniõ, & of the vertue of the holy ghoſt, nether cã by sence be perceiued, nor by the cõpaſſe of oure wit comprehended. The Cardinall affirmed that he was satysfied wyth these reasons. And that openly testifyed to the Queene. Geuing good hope that there shoulde ensue some happye ende of thys conference. He entreated also, and desyred Beza, that he would oftener talke and conferre with him, of these matters, that so at laſt, they myghte make some waye to peace and concorde. So, those that heard thereof, were in greate hope, of

better succesſe. But therewithall, ſome came to the Cardinall, willing hym to cõtinue in hys firſt purpoſe, eaſely ſuſpecting ẏ which afterwards happened. For, the nexte day, there was a rumour ſpred, not only in the court, but alſo in Poyſſye, yea and afterwardes, caryed into farre countreyes, that at the fyrſte meting, Beza was ouercom̃e, & cõuerted by the Cardinals labour. And to cõclude, that we had now taken the foyle. Theſe, and diuers ſuche other tales, (as cuſtome is,) were forged & ſpred abrode, which, although they might be cõfuted with the witneſſe of many credible perſons, yet now at laſt, in tyme prouing themſelues lyes, to their great ſhame, ẏ firſt fayned them, are vaniſhed awaye. Whẽ as the tyme was thus prolonged and no anſwer made vnto vs, we came to the nobles of the realm, and earneſtly deſyred thẽ, that we myght be heard: Leaſt in ouerpaſſing ſo mete an occaſion, thoſe, by whõ we were ſent, mighte ſeme to ſuſtayne any ſhame or repꝛoch. But chiefely we required, that thoſe cõditions, which we firſt propoſed, might be obſerued, and that we myght not o-

ther-

therwise couple wͤ our aduersaries. But chefely, ẏ they might not be their owns iudges in the matter. And ẏ whatsoeuer shuld happen, might hereafter appeare more certain, we required an answere in writing. Which whē it was denied vnto vs, we came to ẏ Queene, desiring and beseching her, to graunt to our requestes. There wer present, the king of Nauarre, ẏ prince of Conde, ẏ admiral, the Chancelour. The Queene answered, ẏ ẏ Bishops shuld in no wise be our iudges. And ẏ, such thīgs as wer done, one of the kinges secretaries, shuld register (which was one of thē, whō, we call secrytaryes of cōmaundements.) And if we would our selues pen our disputatiōs, we might lawfully doe it. And whereas in decreeing of doctrines we would groūde only vpō ẏ authority of ẏ Scriptures, ẏ we might opēly proteste. And ẏ the kyng, which had takē vs into hys tuycyō, would be present at it, with the rest of ẏ nobility. But she cōmaunded vs, to do al thyngs moderatly and wisely, respecting onely the glory of God, of the aduauncement wherof, she thought vs desyrous. But that these

thinges should be geuē vnto vs in wri-
tinge, she thought it was not expedi-
ente for many causes. Neuertheless,
she promised we shoulde haue it, if we
had nede thereof. Willing vs to cre-
dite no lesse her worde thā her writing.
Forasmuche as, if she meante to de-
ceiue vs, her writing could not let her.
Immediatly after our departure, came
the doctours of the Sorbonistes, de-
siring the Quene, that she woulde not
vouchsafe to heare vs. But if she
were determined to heare vs, at the
least, that she should not suffer the kyng
to be present therat. For that, it was
great perill (as they sayd) least the king
in this his tender age, shoulde be sea-
soned wyth vnsounde doctrine, from
the which afterwardes he should hard-
ly be withdrawen. And that we, fora-
smuchas we were already condem-
ned of heresye, were not to be heard at
all. Then the Queene aunswered,
that she woulde doe nothing without
her counsell. Whereby they well
perceiued, that the matter was not
likely to passe, as they wished.

Wherefore, thoughe all oure de-

maundes

maundes were not graunted, yet nenerthelesse, bicause the aunswere of the Queene, was tollerable, we thoughte it good, to take the occasion, leaste we myghte seeme to detracte the conference. The next day therefore whiche was the nynth of September, we came to Poyssye, to the cloyster of Nunnes, where the king was, with his brother the Duke of Orleaunce, the Quene, the king & Queene of Nauarre, and the rest of the nobles, with the whole councel, there were present also, the Cardinalls, and Bishops, accompaynyed with a great number of ecclesiast call persons. The ministers, to the number of xii. and. xx. of those, whom other churches had sente, came in afore them. But, leaste the people of the towne shoulde make any riot vpon vs, the kinges garde brought vs from our lodginges to the Nunnery. Assoone as we came to the kinges presence, and wer commaunded to speake, Theodore Beza, (which by ỹ vniuersal cõsent was appoynted therto) made an oratyon: in the which, thankyng God and the Kynge, that nowe at the

last, our cause shuld be heard, he shewed the causes for the which, we had bin lóg before expelled, and vniustly condẽned. Furthermore, in what articles, we agreed with our aduersaries, in what others, and how we did differ. And what was the meane, to appease all troubles and reforme religion. Then in fewe wordes, he shewed the doctrine of ours fayth and Sacramentes, and breefely touched the chiefe errours, that haue crept into religion, whiche whyles he handeled grauely moderatly, and wyth synguler eloquence, he was heard very diligently of al men, except when, he treated of the presence of the body of Christ in his supper. For, when he shewed, how, we are made partakers of hym in hys Supper, and taught the same to be done, by the power of the holy ghost, which conioyneth & knitteth, thinges most farre distante in nature: and that Christ, could no otherwyse be receiued, than by fayth: and that he nedeth not to descende from heauen, that we may communicate of hys body: and that he is not enclosed in the bread, but remayneth in heauen, till he shall come

to

to iudge the world: or rather that, as to that corporall presence, he is as far absent from the bread, as the hyest heauē, is distant from the lowest earth: these thinges I say. Whiles he handeled, sodenly, ẏ Bishops begā opēly to grudge and murmure. Crying that he spake shameful blasphemy. Some hissed, some rose, as though they would depart. And the Cardinall of Turon opēly desired, that either he might be licenced to depart, or we put to silēce. They wer sory that afore they could get no occasion, to interrupte our oration. And therfore, it pricked them at the hartes, ẏ we were so attentiuely heard. Neither is it to be doubted, but ether they would haue departed, or els violently haue runn vpon vs, vnlesse the very presēce, and authority of the king, had repressed their fury. Silence commaunded a new, Beza, gently desired them, that they woulde quietly heare what remained. So it myghte happen, that the matter ended, they themselues myghte be satisfied. So he had licence to conclude. And not onely to declare the residue of those thinges, that pertayne to the ful-

ler declaratyon of Chrystes presence in his supper: but also all such thinges, as concerne the Ecclesiasticall disciplyne, and the dutye and authoritye of officers. This oratyon ended, the Cardinall of Turon perced with anger, tremblyng, and freating, counsayled the king to geue no credite to our wordes, nor swarue from the religion of his auncestors. Wherein that he might obtaine his desire, he prayed the glorious virgine Marye, and the blessed Saintes. Then he desired, to haue a copy of our oration, and a daye appointed to aunswere it: Saying, that he hoped, that oure argumentes, and reasons shoulde be so fully satisfied, that if any parte thereof stucke in the kinges minde, it shoulde thereby, easely be rooted oute. The Bishoppes tooke aduysemente with the deuines and Canonistes, howe they might aunswere oure oration. But then the Cardinall of Lorayne, brast out into these wordes. Would to God, that eyther he had ben dumme, or we deafe.

The matter long weyed emõges them, they

they concluded, not to aunswere all the poyntes of our oration, (either bicause they would not, or could not) but. ii. only. First, that whiche we sayde of the Churche and then that which was spoken of the Lordes Supper. Afterwards they desired, that they might geue vp a common confessiō, in wryting, subscribed by euery of them. Which if the ministers would not allow, they myghte then procede with a solemne decree, against them. And so take away the disputation. From the whych policy, the wysest, and graueste men abhorring, sharpely withstode their purpose. In the meane tyme, we determined, to make supplication to the kyng, that he woulde not suffer the conference thus to be broken of, nor the Bishops to be iudges in their own cause. Saying, that we had not yet shewed, the proofes of oure oppinion, but onely symplye and playnly, hadde drawen the articles of oure fayth which afterwardes, myght bee more largely handeled, and proued with the testimonies of the Scripture, if he did suffer the Bishops, to procede so at theyr owne wyll

and

and decree their own cause, it would come to passe, that both he should be deceiued, of hys good expectatiõ, and also no remedy hereafter founde for suche troubles as do dayly growe. This supplication was geuen to the Chancelor, who by his prudence, prouided, that the conference was not broken of, and that the Bishops kept, farre more moderate and quiet order than they had done before.

The eight day after, which was the xvi. of the same moneth, the Cardinal of Lorraine answered our oratiõ, and protesting afore, that he, and his, would alwayes submit themselues, to ỹ kinges rule, and would be ready, to obeye hys commaundement in al pointes: yet neuertheless, reserued place, for their wonted immunitie and fredom, whereby, they are wont to quite themselues from all subiection, and chalenge the chiefe authoritie. And that he did so suttelly, that he scarcely semed, to touche that sore. And pretending a coloure of concorde, he protested, ỹ he would gladly receiue vs, which had swarued from him, if we would returne, & humble our

selues

selues to them. To conclude that they would be, as fathers towards vs. If we would shew our selues, as children towardes them. These, & such other like, afore promised, he sayd he would answere onely to the Articles of our oration. Whereof the one concerned the Church, the other the Lordes Supper. He ymagined, that we had so defyned ỹ Church, as though, the name thereof, had extended no farther, thã to the elect: and therfore largely reasoned agaynste it, shewing out of the common similitudes of the gospel, (in the whiche, it is cõpared, to a plat of grounde, and to a fyshers net,) that the name therof, extended euen to ill and reprobate persons. But he gaue it a meruaylous definitiõ: Saying, that the Catholike Church is it, which is euery where knowen, and of all mẽ. To the authority of ỹ church, he sayd, al interpretation of Scriptures and making of traditions ought to bee referred. Saying that the succession, as well of that Church, as of the pastours therof, was perpetual but of the Lordes Supper, he so entreated, ỹ touching nothing at al, of ỹ chaũge of ỹ natures of

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the elements, he came very nye to their opinion, which ioyne the body & bloud of Christ, with the elementes. And say, that they be both vnder them, and in them. Which afterwardes, we vnderstode, was done for a polecy, partly, to procure their fauoure, whom he had so kindly clawed, and partly, to make vs the more hatefull to them. Neither yet did he plainly agree with them, but shewed that in this respect, he did willingly ioyne with them, that they myghte ioyntly warre against vs. The ende of his oration, was to this effect. That the kyng and his counsell, leauing our opinion, should folow the steppes of their forfathers, and not leaue their accustomed vsage. When he had ended, we desired that presently, whyles the memory therof was yet fresh, we might satisfye his obiections, and refute his argumēts. For we feared, least after this the Cardinals answere, we should scarcely haue leasure or liberty afterwardes to speake. Because ỹ day afore, many bragged, ỹ we should loke for nothing els, thā condemnation, & the thūderbolt of excommunication. Neyther wer we ignorant

therof,

therof. The Queene, taking the aduise of her coũcel, cõmaunded vs to depart, saying: ỹ we should answere it an other tyme, & that she would appoint vs a day whẽ we shuld be prẽsẽt again. And surely, meruaile had it ben, if the byshops, which wer of ỹ coũcel, would haue geuẽ any other councel. The next day againe we desired ỹ we might be prẽsẽtly heard and ỹ tyme no longer prolõged. But we could obtayne nothing, neither wer we heard, before the eight day. In ỹ meane time, false rumors were spred abrode, ỹ we wer ouercome, & put to silẽce, & had nothyng to say. Whereas we were redy to haue answered their oration prẽsently. And how false such tales be, herby men may sufficiently gesse, that the Bishops did what they could, to breake of the cõference, so ỹ at the last, by their importunitye they obteined of ỹ Queene that the matter shuld not be opẽly heard afore ỹ king, but in a more secret place, afore few. Therfore, it was deferred, til the.xviii. day of ỹ moneth at the which he cõmaunded to returne to Poyssye, we came before ỹ Quene, ỹ king & Queen of Nauarre, & the rest of ỹ Lordes and

counsay-

counsailours, there were present also 5. Cardinalles, and many Byshops, and diuynes of al sortes: we the mynisters, were admitted only to the number of xij. Those being seuered which wer sēt frō other Churches, which afore were ioyned w̄ vs. For now the matter was heard, both in narower place, & in lesse companye than before, the Cardynals of lorayne shewed in few wordes, that this assemblye was to this end, ỳ if we would obiecte any thing, agaynst that which he had sayde eyght dayes before, we might freely speake, & shuld be herd. Then Beza, in the name of vs al, sayd: That he would haue wished ỳ immediatlye he might haue aunswered ỳ Cardynalls oration, whyles the same was fresh in memorye or at the least, that he might haue had som coppye therof, ỳ he might, aūswere certaynly & perfectly to euery poynt, but, forasmuch as he coulde not obtayne that, he woulde aunswere so much as he coulde call to mynde. Fyrste there fore, as concerning the article of the Churche, which the Cardinall fyrste handled, he deuided it into thre partes.

First

Firſt, what it is. Then, what are the marks therof. Thirdly, what and how great is the authoritie therof. It is wel knowē (quoth he) ỳ this name Eccleſia. (which ſignifieth the church) is derined from the Greeke ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκκαλεῖν which ſignifyeth to call frō on place to another. Of calling, we find. ii. ſorts in ỳ ſcriptures, the one cōioyned with the working of ỳ holy ghoſt: wherof Paul to the Romains writeth, whom he cal-led, them he iuſtified. The other, al-thoughe in outward ſhew. It be al one with the firſt: yet is altogether vnprofi-table to ſaluation. And ỳ only through the fault of man, beyng deafe at the calling of God. Of this calling, ſpake the Lorde, when he ſayde. That many wer called but fewe choſē. Here-of it happens, ỳ the name of the church (which ſignifyeth the congregation of thoſe, that are aſſembled by the word of god) is taken. ii. wayes. For, generally it contayneth al thoſe, which outward-ly profeſſe to folowe the calling of god. Neyther is it to be doubted, but manye hypocrites, and reprobate perſons are within this nūber. Neither we thanks

Rom. viii. c. xxviii.

Mat. xxii. b. xiiii.

be to god therefore) haue at any tyme, either written or taught otherwise, for asmuch as, both the scripture, and also common experience doth plainly proue the same, but, takyng this name of the churche properly, and strayghtlye, (as, manye tymes we doe) we then say, ý it comprehendeth onlye the electe and chosen of god. And, that al men may know, that we be not the authours of this maner of speache, or of this doc-
Eph.ii g. trine, when it is written, that ý church
rrr. is ý body of Christ, bones of his bones,
1.Cor.xii. flesh of his flesh, yea, when ý name
b.xii.xvii. of Christ it selfe is geuen vnto it, (as Paule writyng to the Corinthians, ioyning the members with the heade, calleth her Christ) how could in ý number be contayned the reprobate, in as muche as, they are the members of the deuill: For it cannot bee, ý we shoulde be members bothe of Christ and of the deuil, which Austine writyng agaynste Cresconius, well noteth in his seconde booke, and xviii. Chapter. He also writyng on the .lxiii. psalme, vsed this distinction of the churche, saying: ý that church whiche is signifyed by Jerusalē

toke

toke her begynnyng of Abel, and Babilon, of Cain. And afterwardes in his fyrst booke of baptysme, agaynst ỳ Donatistes, the seconde Chapter, wheras he taketh, the name of the church more largely, he saieth, that he, that begot Abell, Enoch, Noe, Abraham, & the reste of the Prophetes, begot also Cayn, Ismaell, Dathan, and suche lyke. Therefore to conclude, we muste take that whiche Austine hymselfe wrote in the seuenth boke of the same booke, the. 51. chapter, whiche is also rehearsed. xxiiii. tr. i. a. ca. All thyngs considered it is said that there are two kynde of men in the churche.

Some of them (sayeth he) bee the members of Christe, and of the house of God, yea the house of GOD it self. Other some bee in the house, but not of the house. For they bee as chaffe with the corne, tyll suche tyme as they bee seuered. Hereof ryseth a questyon whether the Churche bee inuisible: Whiche I thynke good to affyrme, and to conclude, that onely God knowes his elect & chose. Yet neuertheles we beleue ỳ ther is a holy church,

whiche is conceiued, imagined and beleued, not seene. For if we shuld otherwise saie, thereof would ensue ỹ whiche is most repugnaunt to reason. For if the churche be vnknowen vnto vs, to what flock shal we sticke to be pertakers of saluation, when to the Church only Christ extendeth his power & saluatiõ: we say therfore, that although that Churche can not be discerned by sight, yet when we seeke to what flocke and companye we ought to associate oure selues, ther be certayne notes, wherby we may know & discerne ỹ same, namely, the pure worde of god, and the syncere administration of the sacraments. These be the cleare and euident marks thereof, neither is there any doute, but whatsoeuer these be, ther is also ỹ true Church of god. Furthermore, we say: That al those, that profesle true religiõ, are charitablye to be counted amonge the number of the faythful, vnlesse, the lorde do playnely detest their hipocrisy and dessemblynge. Whereof, Paule giueth vs a manifest president callinge the Corinthians and Galathians faithfull, and applying to them, the general

1. Cor. ii. a

name

name of the churche, albeit in the there was great imperfection, aswel of learning, as life, whiche in diuers places he himselfe complaineth. For, all those that haue any foundation, doe not alwaies builde on the same, golde, siluer, and pretious stones onely: but also oftentimes, hey, chaffe, and sedge. In this maner and sort therefore, we vse it. 1. Cor. iii.

to speake of the church, least we should seme to appoint any fantasticall thing or that should consiste in imaginations onely, or least we might geue any colour, to ill disposed persones, to deeme vs suche, as were in times past ỹ Canthares and Donatistes, and in this our age are the Anabaptistes, against whō, we haue oftē reasoned about this question. Nowe let vs come to the markes and signes of the true churche, whiche is necessary to be discerned & knowen, sith out of her is no saluation. And for that cause Sathan, that olde enemye of man, hath attempted by all meanes possible, to disguise and counterfayte her, to chaunge her auncient sygnes, and fayne newe in their places. Her vncertaine and vndoubted markes, we

haue sayde to be two, that is to wete, the pure preachyng of the woorde and administration of the sacramentes. Hereto, doe some adioyne ecclesiastical discipline, and fruites of sayth. And truelye, it is necessary, that euery flock should haue some head and guyde whō they oughte to obey, yf they mynde to liue in saletye: but forasmuche as ours owne iniquities, often tymes are the cause, that we wāt ȳ two last markes, let vs content our selues with the fyrst.

Mat. xiii. a.iii iiii. xi. i. Pet. i. d. i. Cor. iiii c. xv. John. x.

Therefore, that the woorde of god is the certayne sygne of the churche, herby it appeareth, that bothe Christe and Peter compare the same to seede. For the whiche cause also, Paule sayth, that he begat the Corinthians in Christ, by preachyng the woorde. Therefore in dyuerse places, it is called one foode and nourysshemente: this also Christe hymselfe witnesseth to pertayn to his shepe, saying: that they heare his voice and no others.

We adioyne hereto the Sacramentes also, for that Christe woulde not onelye, to ours eares, but also to our eyes, and the reste of ours bodyly

senses wytnesse his grace. And therefore, he ordeyned the Sacramentes, to be certain and visible signes, both of oure union with hym, and also of charitye and loue among oure selues. For that cause, duryng the olde Testament it was sayde, that they shoulde be banyshed the companye of the faythfull, whiche had not the sygne of circumcision. And furthermore decreed, that all householders shoulde thrice in the yere, appeare before the Lorde, at Ierusalem, by common sacrifyce, to testifye the vnitye of fayth and religion. Exodus xxxiiii. d. xxiiii.

Afterwardes, the Vyneyarde beyng spoyled, the Gentyles grewe in one bodye with the Iewes, not onely by preachyng the woorde, but also, by the Sacramentes of Baptysme, and of the bodye and bloode of oure Lorde. Yea, and Christe commaunded his Apostles so to dooe, saying: goe ye, and teache all nations: This is the doctryne of the woorde, to the which he foorthwith adioyneth the Sacramentes, saying: Baptysing, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy ghost. Mat. xx. c xix.

For, to baptisme also, must we applye
1. Cor. xi. c xxvii. that, which Paule writeth of the supper, saying: that what he receiued of the Lorde, he deliuered to vs. And thesame he testifieth in an other place also. Namely, that the Churche is founded vppon the foundation of the prophetes
Ephe. ii. d xx. and the Apostles; that is to wete, vpon Jesus Christ, who is the summe & substaunce of all the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophetes. So also must we vnderstande another texte of the same Apostle. Where he sayeth, that the
1. Timo. iii. d. xv. Churche is a piller of the liuing God, a bolster of truthe. Whiche meaneth, that the woorde of God, whiche is the truthe it selfe, dothe staye and vpholde the church, or els is placed in ỹ church, as in an open and sure fortresse, for ỹ
Rom. i in her god extendeth his power & health to all beleuers, these are the true and visible signes of the churche. Whiche therefore is called the mother of the faithfull, for that they wer begotten in her, by incorruptible seede, and nourysshed, and fed with the same fode. If the preaching of the woorde, and the true administration of the sacramentes, be necessarily

necessarily required in the churche, thē
muste there needes be pastours & tea-
chers to execute theiame. As the holye
scriptures sufficientely witnesse, but i. Cor. xii.
chiefiye Paule writyng to the Corin- d. xxviii.
thians and Ephesians, this was the Ephe. iiii
cause, that this thirde marke was ad- vi. xi.
ioyned hereto. Namely, ordinary suc- i. Time.
cession, from the time of the Apostles. iii. a
Hereto we aunswer, that such succes- Tim. i. a
sion is muche to be esteemed, if it be wel vi.
considered, and applied after the exam-
ple of the auncient fathers, who groū-
ded thereon against heretikes, & there
newe opinions. As Tertulian, Irene-
us and Austine againste the Maniches
and Donatistes, but because many lay
the same against vs, as though we had
cōueyed into the churches newe scismes
and heresies, it is necessarye, that we
should shew our minde herein. We say
therefore, that there is one succession of
doctrine, an other of persōs. Doctrine
we graunt to be the true and vndoub-
ted mark of the churche as it hath bene
already saide. For, although the doc-
trine of the Gospell, bee not therefore
the more to be credited, for that it is the

auncienteſt of all other (thoughe it happen many tymes for oure ſynnes, that the ſame ſeeme ſo new & ſtraunge to menne, as it ought to bee familiar and vſuall) yet neuertheleſſe, the witneſſe of the continuall ſucceſſion therof, is of no ſmall force, to wynne it authoritye amonges menne. As to the ſucceſſion of perſones, we admitte it, but ſo that it be conioyned wyth the ſucceſſion of the Prophetical and Apoſtolyke doctryne, in ſubſtance and the chiefe poyntes and groundes at leaſte. But, we ſpeake of the doctryne it ſelfe, not of theyr maners.

For, albeit, it be required, of true and faithfull paſtours, that in doctryne and lyfe they be ſounde and pure, yet for the ignorance of ſome thynges, or for the diuerſitie of opinions in doctrine, ſo that it ſtretch not to the ſubſtaunce of our ſaluation, or though their life be not of the perfecteſt, yet for theſe thynges we doe not reiect them, but beare them. So they kepe the grounde and foundation. And that we ought ſo to doe, Chriſt teacheth vs, ſaying: that wyth the Scribes and Phariſes ſitting

in

in Moyſes chayre teache vs, we ought te to folowe their doctryne, and not their deedes. Whiche place, Auſtine writing vppon John, sayeth: ought to be vnderſtande of ſuche hyerlyng paſtours as keepe the ſounde doctrine, but not of falſe Prophetes, of whom Chriſt contrarywyſe sayde. Beware of the leauen of the Phariſees. Whyle they ſitte (sayeth Auſtine) in the chayre of Moyſes, they teache the lawe of God, and so god teacheth by them. But yf they teache theyr owne doctryne, neyther heare theyr woordes, neyther folowe their deedes. That alſo the ſame author expreſſeth more at large, in hys xlix. Sermon, of the woordes of the Lords. Forasmuche as therefore, falſe Prophetes and wolues maye ſuccede to true and faythfull paſtours, we doo not onelye, not admitte perſonall ſucceſſion, but euen condemne it, vnleſſe the ſucceſſiō of doctrine be ioyned with all, becauſe it is a meete cloke for anye lye or errour. Furthermore if perſonal ſucceſſion of it ſelf ſhoulde be taken for a certayn mark of ỹ church, ther ought to haue ben ſom promis of god ſhewed

Mat. xxiii. a. ii. iii. Auguſt. tracta. xlvi

Mat. xvi. a. vi. vi. xi

whereby

wherby he hath limited his grace to a-
ny certayn sea or countrey. Which in
the new Testament, we shal not find.
In deede he promised, that the churche
shoulde be Catholike, that is to wete,
vniuersall, whiche is so called, for that
the particuler members thereof, are
here and there, dispersed throughouts
the whole worlde. Whersoeuer it plea-
seth god to shewe his iudgementes, ey-
ther vpon those, whō he vtterly cutteth
of, or whom he chasteneth for a tyme,
or in shewyng mercy to them, whō he
furthereth better and better, or whom
he calleth to his knowledge and salua-
tion. For in some places, the Lord iust-
ly reuenging himself so destroyeth the
churche, that he seemeth euen to roote
it oute, and not to leaue so muche as a-
ny signe therof, as it happned amonges
the barbarous nations and in the most
part of all the Easte. Otherwhere, as
in Greece, and other realmes more nie
to vs, he hath lefte some tokens of the
churche. Agayne, sometyme the Lorde
dothe cut and breake of, onely the per-
sonall succession of pastours: as it hap-
ned at Antioche, in the time of Samo-

satenus,

latenus, and at Alexandria after the banishment of Athanasius, and in many other churches. And, that we neede to seeke no further: the personall succession, then at the least fayled in the Romaine churche, when Honorius being bishop, was condemned for the detestable heresie of the Eutichians. And so likewise in the time of John, the .xvii. of that name, who was also cõdemned for heresie. Unlesse perhaps some man wyll maynteyne, that those that are manifestly condemned of heresye, be pastours. Furthermore in what case this succession stoode vnder John the thee Pope, through the scismes and cõtentions of diuerse, striuyng for the Popes sea, the histories sufficientlye witnesse. Wherfore we conclude, that not respectyng the personall succession of pastours, we must alwayes haue regarde to the pureneſse of doctrine, and the sincere administratiõ of sacramẽts so that they onely be to be counted successours of the Apostles, whiche beyng lawfully called, doe buylde vpon theyr foundation. Whether they deriue their succession from them, or whether the same

not

same haue fayled. And contrarywyse, they that neyther buylde noꝛ teache, oꝛ preache theyꝛ owne doctrine in stede of the Apostles, although they were able to shewe neuer so many and continuall presidentes of their predecessoꝛs, are not to be taken foꝛ pastours, but to be shũned as wolues, as Chriſt and his Apostles teach. Some manne parhappes will obiecte. Is it therfoꝛe lawfull foꝛ any man to teache, and mynyster the Sacramentes? no. Foꝛ it behoueth (as the Apostle sayeth) ỹ al thinges bee done in the house of God, ryghtly, and oꝛderly. Who then shall bee taken foꝛ true pastours? they whiche are lawfully called. It remayneth then, that we vnderstande, what is a lawfull callyng And here I muſt craue attention. Foꝛ we saye that some callyng is oꝛdynarye, and some extraoꝛdinarye. Oꝛdinarye is it, in the whiche is obserued the oꝛder appoynted by GOD in hys churche. In that oꝛder these thynges are chiefly requyred.

1. Coꝛint. xiiii. g. xl.

Firſte the examination of his doctrine and lyfe that shalbe oꝛdayned, thẽ a lawfull choyse and election. And laſtlye

lye the laying of handes. And these we all gathered out of diuers places of the scripture. As oute of the Actes of the Apostles, and the writinges of Paule to Timothe and Titus. This therefore is the ordinarye callyng. Whereby we may well discerne whiche is it, that we call extraordinarye. Namely it, that wanteth som one, or other, or al these conditions, and yet the same grounded vpon the authoritie of God, and lawfull. That god vsed suche extraordinary callyngs, it plainly appeareth throughout the whole scripture. For who laid handes vpon Moyses, that he myght consecrate Aaron? Who gaue the gyfte of Prophecye, to Esay, Daniell, Amos, and the rest? Yea, was not this geuen them, when they, that ordinarilye had the charge thereof, abused it? For then it was necessarye, that god shoulde put to his hande extraordinarilye: not to trouble or confounde the order of hys churche, but to correcte them, whiche vnder the pretence of ordinary succession, disordred all. This well proue the writynges of the Prophets, which most of al pertain to ỳ orders of the priestes.

Act. i.d.xvi
Joh. vi.a. vi.
i.Tim.iii. a.ii.xv.iiii. d xvii.
Titus. i. a.vi
Exodus. xxviii.
Esa.vi.b. xciii.
Dani.i.c. i.a vii.
Amos.vii xiiii

But

Ps. xxviii vi. vii. Iere. vii. a. iiii et. xxiii. a. xi. Ezec. xxii e. xxvi. Soph. iii. a. iiii.

But if it be obiected, ẏ suche men gaue some certayntye, of their vocation, as either some miracle, or some heauenly signe: I graunt the same to be true in some, but not in all. Neither can any mā say otherwise, vnlesse he wil plainly denye ẏ truth. Neither do Iwel know, whether we shall find many prophetes of the stocke of Aaron, or vpon whom, after the ordinary maner, hands were layde. But yf any man will take this exceptiō, that those prophets vsed only to rebuke vice and wēt no farther, but abstained frō sacrifice: I aūswer ẏ that is not true in all. For Samuel, which was not of the stock of Aarō, sacrificed in Mispa: And Elias of Galaad, in ẏ mount Carmelus. Then is it not to be maruelled, ẏ the prophets of that time woulde extend theyr office so far, as to circumcise & sacrifice, whereas that by enheritaunce appertayned onely to the tribe of Leuy? But suche enheritaunce at this daye hath no place: thus you see, what we call the church, what we think of her markes: and of the callyng of pastours in her. Which yf you please to applye, to oure Churches, or to oure

i. Samu. vii. c. ix i. Regum xviii. f. xxvi.

selues,

selues we hope, that by the helpe of god, we shall shewe such prose, and witnesse therof, out of the holy scriptures, as no man shall haue any occasion to doute thereof. And that, both according to ẏ worde of god, & also to the writings of that godly man Austyne, at the least in that treatyse, which is reckned among his workes, and intitled of .65. question the last question. Now let vs speake of the authoritye of the churche. By that, which we haue alreadye spoken, it appeareth, that we derogate frō her none of those hye & precious titles, ẏ the holy ghost doth geue her, but say that she is the bodye of our lorde, obtayning the same here only in part, til such time, as ioyned to her head, she shall fullye and perfectly enioye the same. She is the house of god, but suche as is daylye put of and increased. She is ruled by ẏ spirite of god, but as yet she striueth agaynst ẏ flesh. She is clensed & washed but so, that by litle, and litle, she shalbe brought to that perfect beautye, in the which ther shalbe no spott, no wrinkle. She knowes god but only in part. And in these our maners of speache, we wish

Heb. xi.c. xv
i. Co. i.a. vii.
i Cor. xiiii vi.v.
Ep. iiii.c. xv.
Gala. v.c. xvii.
Ep. v.f. 25
i Co. 3.c. 4

the Apostles wordes to be weyghed, to conclude, we graunt, that there is no saluation without the church. For there is no saluation but in Christ Jesus.

1. Jhon. v. c. xi. And Christ dothe no where extende his saluation, but in those membres, whose congregation, and communion is called the churche, but it is doubted, whether she maye erre in this worlde, whether we bee subiecte to the scripture, or els her authoritie creede thesame. We aunswere, that her seuerall membres maye erre, and dayly fall and faple, as well in doctrine, as in lyfe, according to the saying of Paule. In parte we knowe. Also John saieth: If we saye, y we haue no sinne, we deceue our seines and there is no truthe in vs. Wherfore if any man will goe aboute, to except the doctours from this number, let him pardon vs, that we beleue him not. For we coulde easily shewe many authorityes, wherein do appeare y manifest errours of the best learned, & moste auncient doctours. Be it spoken wyth their leaue and fauour, whom as well for their singuler learnyng, as also for their passing pitte, we doe muche reuerence. Neither truely, my L. Cardinal,

Joh. iii. c. xviii.

1. Cor. xiii c. ix.

1. John. i. v. viii.

(if I wel vnderstande him) doth admyt
the without indgement. This therfore
is our opinion of ỹ mẽbers of ỹ church
seuerally, whose imperfection is not so
material, but ỹ the church may cõsist of
the. For, by litle & litle, they daily profit
& encrease, as wel in amending of their
liues, as encreasig their learning. But
now cõsidering ỹ parts of the Churche
more generally, as deuiding it into se-
neral dioceses, & prouinces, shal we say
ỹ they may erre? That they bothe may
erre, & also haue erred, my L. Cardinal
(if I wel remẽber) hath alredy graunted.
And ỹ same is also cõfirmed wt so great
& long experience, ỹ no wise man may
wel doubt therof. It remaineth there-
fore to consider the whole & vniuersall
churche. But first we must see in what
sort. For if we consider it, as it is repre-
sented by som general counsel, assured-
ly we must not thinke, ỹ the whole po-
wer, ỹ ỹ holy goost extẽdeth to ỹ church,
is restrained to any certain nũber of bi-
shops, which oftẽtimes, are neither the
best learned, nor best liuers. For howe
oft happeth it, ỹ some one priuate man,
passeth ỹ best lerned, yea & somtimes ỹ

whole coūsel in wit & knowledge? For this cause, lōg since it hath bine writen, ẏ better credyte is to be geuen, to any pryuate mā groūding a better reason, thā either to any coūcell or pope. And hereof their is a notable example in the councell of nyce. For what stayed, that ẏ prohibition of mariage. Which hath bred so much filthynes in ẏ church, had not then bine stablished & decreed? only paphumtius as the history recordes wt stode it. Or what conuocation of any generall councel hitherto hath bene so larg, but that a greate number of holye and learned men, yea & of the worthyest bishops, hath bene ouerpassed therin? And who will affirme ẏ nothing more is reueled to those ẏ are absente, than to those that are present at the coūcell? Furthermore you are not ignorante, what horrible confusiō ther hath bene, and is at this present in the church, and chiefly amonges those that sitt in hyest romes. So that ẏ Church of god, euen there wher it should be most pure and perfect, doth appeare most confuse and desolate. And long time hath this wretched case continued, there yet remaine

glo. in. ca: sig nificasti de .elect. i ibi. pauo

not

so

so many greuous & leude cōplaintes of good bishops, on ẏ same: ẏ the soūde of thē, semetheuē now presētli to pearce myne eares. What in his time, Beza had wrote in his bokes, de consideratione et sermone, 33 ch. vppon the Cantica Cantico rum. also in his sermō of ẏ cōuersiō of Paul, it is no lesse cōmon, than true. Alas, alas, o lord god, they are chefe in persecutig ẏ, which seme to be chefest in thy church, & to beare ẏ greatest rule therein. They haue take ẏ castell of Sion: they haue wonne ẏ municions, & now frely, & by cōmaundemente, they cōsume wt fyer the whole citye. These things we speake not in reproch of any mā, but to shew, ẏ for as muchas ẏ chef fallig in ẏ church are cōfounded, & gone astray, it can not be proued, that ẏ vniuersal cōusels, (which haue bin assēbled many times, of a multitude of mē most vnfit therfore,) are so guided wt ẏ grace of ẏ holi gost, ẏ they may not erre. The old priest (of whom I would make no mētion, but ẏ his example is cōmonly aledged for ẏ profe hereof) although he were vicious & wicked, did prophecye, & foretel, ẏ it was necessari ẏ on mā shuld

die for ẏ people, least the whole nation should perish. But neuerthelesse, his decree, or counsell is not therfore alowed, as though he had rightfullye condēned Christ. For the holy gost prophecied it, & not he, which vnderstode not what he spake. For he was styrred wᵗ a cōtrary spirit, and altogether deuillishe For he gaue iudgement against the innocent Christ, ẏ son of god. Furthermore, if this priuilege be geuē to general councels, ẏ they cannot erre, either in ẏ rule of doctrine, or forme of life, we woulde fain know, at what time this was done

Ephe. iiii a. b

For there was alwaies one faith, & one church. In the olde churche & vnder the olde testament the histories & prophets witnesse, ẏ errours were commonlye taught & receiued. All their spies (saith Esay) be blind, their dogges bee dūme, not able to barke. Also Jeremy: Bothe prophete & priest, do all forge lyes. And least you should thinke ẏsame to be referred to ẏ liues of priuate persons it is writtē in ẏsame prophet: the prophetes prophecy falsly in my name. For I sent thē not, neither did I cōmaund them to speak, neither did I speak vnto thē, but

Psa. lvi. d x.

Jere. vi. c xv.

Jer. xiiii. c. xiiii.

lying

lying visiōs, diuinations, yea nothyng,
or ẏ deceits of their own hert, they pro- Ps.xxiiii.
phecie vnto you. Also Esai: ẏ wisdom of c.xiiii.
ẏ wise shal perish, & the witte of ẏ witty Ezec.vii.
shal hide it self. Also Ezechiell: The law g.xcvi.
shal perish frō ẏ priest, & councel from ẏ
elders. Furthermore, who cōdemned ẏ
prophets, as Jeremy, Michae, yea & the
son of god himself, & his Apostles, but ẏ
councels of ẏ priestes of Israel? If any
man answer, ẏ these things hapned vn-
der ẏ olde testamēt, we will replie, that
he doth not satisfy our reasō, nor speake
any thing to ẏ purpose. For notwithstan-
ding ẏ, his cōclusion remaineth. That ẏ
counsels of ẏ prelates, albeit they wer vn-
iuersal, wer oftētimes ruled rather wt
ẏ spirit of error thā of god. But thāt we
may com to the newe testamēt, did not
Paul specially warne ẏ church, writig
to ẏ Ephesiās, ẏ wolues should com frō
amonges thē, & that ẏ son of perdition Acte.xx.c.
shuld sit in ẏ tēple of god? And truely yf xix.
we weigh ẏ coūsels feuerallye, we shal ii. Thessa
find so much repugnant & cōtrariety in ii.a.iiii.
thē, ẏ we must nedes cōfesse ẏ the holye
gost ruled thē not, but Sathan, whiche
long since knowes how to trāsform hi-

selfe into an Angell of light. There is a place very manifest in Austine, as concerning this, in hys seconde booke of Baptisme against the Donatistes, the thirde Chapter, wherein he plainly sheweth, that the writinges of seueral Bishops, are amended by particuler councels. And prouinciall Synodes by vniuersall. And vniuersall counsels reformed by others after, when by experiēce that is detected, which afore was hiddē, or that disclosed, which afore was couered. Where Austyne doth not entreate of the outwarde forme; but of the doctryne, and of the Aphricane councell, wherin thei did deliberate, whether thei ought to be Baptised againe, that had bin Baptised of heretikes. There wyll perhaps be obiected an other reason, commō enough, namely, that Christe did promise, as oft as .ii. or three are gathered together in his name, to be himselfe in the middest of thē. And therefore much more he would be present at a general councel. We graūt ye, that may wel be presumed, but farr differs a presumption from a necessary conclusion. For, such is the naughtinesse of men, ẏ

Math. vi, viii. c. xx.

they

they abuse the name of God, to the decreasing of their own lyes. And they oftentymes haue the name of God moste in their mouthes, whose heartes ar enemies and haters of God. And whereas the weakenesse of mannes witte is such, as dayly experience proueth, and many are blynded with naughty affections: We say that those that grounde on no other foundation, than the iudgemente of men, and colloure of a counsell, are in great peril. How then? Thynk we that the doctrine of the Church is vncertain for ỹ she may erre? No. For we graut, that although we knowe God onely in parte as Paule sayeth, and in that respect, error is mingled with the truthe, yet God did neuer permit, that ỹ chiefe, and substantiall poyntes were wholye ouerthrowen and buryed. For alwayes he hath reserued to hymselfe a flocke, some tymes greater, & sometymes lesser, to speake and vnderstande those thynges, which it behoueth, both to vnderstande & speake. As in Elias tyme in Israell. Also in the captiuity of Babilō, and about the comming of Christ. At which tyme, scarse Zacharias onely, 1. Cor. xv. c. ix.

Elizabeth, Joseph, the virgine Marye, Simon, and Anne the Prophetesse remained, that knew God: and amongst so great corruption of the Scribes and Phanises, did truely vnderstande ỳ fulfilling of the Prophecies. Suthe breaches whiche happen in the churche of God for our sinnes, be as it were tempestes, whiche after wardes the Lords calmes, and lyke cloudes, which vanish awaye at the rising of the sonne. Doo we then condemne the olde councels: God forbidde. For if by theyr decrees thinges shoulde bee reformed, you knowe that you should be compelled to chaunge more than ỳr. Onely this we desire, that the scripture maye be to vs as a touchestone, whereby all thinges ought to be allowed, that are doone or spoken in the churche. Whiche yf anye man thinke vnreasonable, let him read that famous saying of Austine, writing to Maximinus the Arian in his second booke and .xiiii. chapter, where he entreateth of the coūcel of Nice and Ariminum. For I thinke there is no councell, that maye rather bee called vnyuersall, than the first councel of Nyce.

And

And contrariwyse, all menne confesse, that the councel of Ariminum, ought worthily to bee reiected and condēned. Vppon what occasion dothe Austine talke of those two councels: About the controuersie of an article of our fayth, nowe confirmed & established. Namely, the consubstantialitie of the sonne of god. And yet neuerthelesse, Austins professeth, that he would neither grounde on the councel of Nyce nor yet of Ariminum, But would be tryed by ỹ scriptures, whiche ought to bee the proones on eyther parte. If anye man obiect the darkenesse of the scripture, we wyll graunt that, whiche Paule sayeth, that the naturall man, dothe not perceyue those thynges whiche procede from the spirite of god. Also we with Peter saye, that the scripture is not of priuate interpretation. But if ỹ darknes of it be such, ỹ it cannot lightē our minds, why dothe Christe referre vs onely to these scriptures, to take cōtel of thē? Serch ye ỹ scripture, saith he. Also whē Abrahā was desired of ỹ rich & vnhappy man, ỹ was tormented in hell, that he woulde sende some manne to warne hys brethren: he aunswered, they haue Moyses

i. Cor. ii. d
iiii.
ii. Pet. i. d
Joh. v.
xvi.

and the Prophetes. If they beleue not them, neither if any manne should ryse from death, would they beleue him. Or howe did they, which had the writinges of the Apostles onely, when neyther bookes, nor commentaries were written of the same. But whereas my Lord Cardinall wolde haue that taken for an Apostolike tradition, whiche hathe bene receyued of the church at al times, in all places, and of al men. I see not, howe these .iii. pointes maie be proued. For how great diuersitie shal we find, in the bookes of auncient fathers, yea, and euen in the verye articles of oure faith. If these wordes should be weyed (at all tymes, and of all men) wher shall we begynne, but at ỹ Apostolike churche? Who shall be firste in order, but onely the Apostles. Whose liues and doings, are partly, faithfully written by Luke, and partly, gathered out of their owne writinges.

To be shorte, we returne at the last, to the first foundatiõ of the scriptures, sith all truthe came from god, who cõmaunded the prophets and Apostles to bee interpreters & messengers of oure saluation.

salvation. In the meane time we doo not reiecte the councels of the fathers, as farre as they be confirmed with the testimonies of the holye scripture. For them, as Austine sayeth, the holye ghost hath so tempered, that it which in some place is obscurely spoken, in some other is expressed more plainlye, and more at large. And that rule chiefly amonges others he geueth, wherebye we may vnderstande the scriptures, in that booke whiche he wrote of christian doctrine, yet there remaineth some doubte in this question. Some men haue thought, that the will of God in these thinges whiche pertaine to oure salvation, is not fullye declared in those writinges, whiche the Prophetes and Apostles haue lefte vnto vs. Whiche doubte if it should take any place, what a gap wer ther opened to all mischefe? And certes, this was ỹ breache, by the which, Sathan firste pearced into ỹ vine yard of the lord, to destroy it. God truelye before the time of Moyses, with diuisiõs & reuelatiõs, directed his churches in like maner ỹ apostles before thei put theyr doctrine in writig, taught ỹ same

by

by worde of mouth. But because ỹ nũber of men encreasing, their noughtynesse encreased also, the lorde would, ỹ this doctrine shoulde bee contayned in writinges and monumentes. Whiche might be vnderstoode and perceiued of al men, why so: that he might confoũd the impudence and rashnesse of suche, as wil set foorth & cloke their dreames, with the name of tradition, reuelation, and custome. But if the doctrine of god be written onely in some part, to what purpose is this remedy? Truely it can not be so. Iohn spake of the scriptures, when he sayeth, that those things which are written, are written to that ende, ỹ we beleuing them, may haue life euerlasting, whiche he had falsly sayde, yf thei themselues had concealed any doctrine necessary to life and saluation. But Paule, when he declareth the vse of scripture, & vnder the person of Tymothe teacheth all ministers, yf anye thing should haue ben added to ỹ scriptures, would not haue affirmed, that by them, the man of god is made perfecte. Neither do we denye, but ỹ at all times there haue ben som traditions of the apostles.

Iohn. 11. 20. 31.

1. Timo. 3. d. 16.

postles, which he not wrytten. But those were suche, as pertained to the ciuil order of the churche. But forasmuche as, many men haue abused this name this great while, I thinke good to shewe, what traditions ought to bee counted Apostolike. Whiche shall not be hard, yf in iudgyng and discernyng them, we vse the markes. For, fyrst we must consyder, whether they doe agree with the doctryne of the woorde, and then, whether they bee apte and meete to edifye. For it is certayne, that the Apostles dyd neuer institute any rites and ordinaunces, whiche eyther directly, or els in anye parte, were contrarye to theyr owne doctryne: or myghte withdrawe menne from spirituall worshippyng, whereof theyr owne wrytynges beare sufficiente recorde. If thys rule be obserued, bothe doctrine shall easilye be discerned frō traditions, & also false traditions, frō ỹ true. Neyther are you ignorant how foolishe Tertullian iudgeth their opinions, which think, ỹ ỹ apostles haue ouerpassed ani thig, necessary to saluatiō, which ether by word of mouth or wrytigs thei haue not taught.

But

but we will adde more hereto. Namely
ỳ thole thinges, which herein ỳ Apoſtles
decreed, were not continuall. Truelye
their inſtructions paſſe all exception,
yet nemertheleſſe, by ỳ rule of charitye,
Ac.15. f.25. they yelded ſomewhat to ỳ weaknes of
Act.16.a.3 men. As when the eating of ſuffocatõ
1 Co.16.d. and blond, was forbid the Jewes. Alſo,
rrir. thoſe thynges, which Paule himſelfe
1 Co.11.a 7 taught, and obſerued in Timothe, and
his own perſõ. Which now truly ſhuld
haue no place, but by the generall rule
of charitye, whereby, we are willed, in
thinges indifferẽt, to apply our ſelues to
our neighbours. Other ſuch like, may
be gathered of their rytes, as of killing
vncouering the head, which was the
ſigne of authority, and other ſuch lyke,
whiche at this daye are contrarye to ỳ
cuſtomes of many nations, amõg whõ,
it would ſeme moſt folily, ỳ men ſhould
kille, ỳ one the other: & to talke with ỳ
heade vncouered, is commonly a ſigne
of ỳ lowe ſt ſtate and condicion. Theſe
thinges therefore ought to be conſi-
dered, before anye cuſtome be thought
Apoſtolyke.

Alſo

Also no man must grounde vppon the authority of the Apostles, to trouble the church: As it hapned in the cōtrouersye of ẏ daye, in ẏ which Easter should be kept, whiche bred miserable deuision, and euē in the Apostles tyme, by those ẏ did abuse ẏ authoritie of the churche at Ierusalē, to myngle Iewishnesse wyth Christian religion. Of whom it is writen in ẏ Actes of the Apostles, where it was decreed by a councell, that no man should lay ẏ yoke on mennes cōsciēces. Wherby, it may easely be perceiued, ẏ the Apostles could not be the authoures of so many ceremonies, to the which afterwardes: Satisfaction, merites, and remission of sinnes wer attributed. For they taught far otherwise. And so much they dissented from makyng newe ceremonies, that they gaue no place to those of Moses lawe, of the whiche God was the author. Of thys yoke of traditions & obseruances. Austine long since writing to Ianuarius, much cōplained, if he had liued in our tyme, how would he haue lamented thē? Wherfore to be shorte, we desyre, that the Scripture, whiche herein is playne, maye iudge

not Iesus

good traditions frō euil, holy from pro-
phane, profitable frō hurtful, & necessa-
rye frō superfluous. When of these ar-
ticles we are once agreed, this question
shall easily be dissolued, whether the au-
thoritie of the church be greater, thā of
the woorde of god, which certes is no
lesse fonde, than if a man should doubte
whether the sōn ought to be aboue his
father, the wife aboue her husbande, or
man aboue god. And sure, neuer ẏ true
church, or any godly mā, woulde moue
such a doubt, but wil willingly submyt
himself to her iudgemēt. Nether doth it
make againſt vs, ẏ the church was afore
ẏ woord. For it is most certain, that the
woord which afterwards was put in wri
ting, is much more auncient. For by it
was ẏ church cōceued, born & bred. But
this saying of Austine, is not to bee ob-
iected, ẏ he would not beleue ẏ scripture,
vnlesse ẏ autoritie of ẏ scryptures moued
him therto. But we must vnderstand, ẏ
in ẏ place, Austine spake of himself, as
of a Maniche, wt whose errour he was
once seduced. I pray you, if ther rise anī
doubt of ẏ truth of any writing, to whō
go we to trie it, but to ẏ rōmō notary, to

whose

whose custody, al writīgs & monumēts are cōmitted. Neyther therfore doth it folow, ẏ the autority of the writyng depēdeth on the witnes of ẏ notarye. For of it self it is true though no mortal mā beare witnesse hereof. So truely must we answer thē, which thynk, ẏ the authoritie of ẏ holy scripture, dependeth vpō ẏ cōstitutiōs, & decrees of ẏ church. The decrees of of ẏ coūcels are manye tymes cōtrary in this question. But all these things shalbe more fullye opened in disputation & conferēce. I wil shewe only reason, confirmed with ẏ autority of certayn auncient & allowed fathers. Christ himself, gaue so much authority to the doctrine of ẏ prophets, whom he had sent afore, that by theyr witnesse he would confirme his doctrine. Paul also, suffred ẏ Thessaloniās so to do, & willed thē to searche ẏ scriptures, to know whether he had taught thē truly. Peter allowed that selfesame reason. They therfore, which boast thēselues to be ẏ vicars of Christ, & the successors of Peter & Paule, ought not to refuse ẏsame cōditiō. Truely Jerome vpō Hieremy, sayth: ẏ nether ẏ error of ẏ fathers nor

Ac. xvii. c. xi.
ii. Peter. ii. d. xix.
Ca. ix. li. ii.

not [illegible]

of our auncestors, by ỹ authority of the Scriptures is to be folowed. Chrisostō vpon the.xxiiii. Chapter of Mathew the 49. Homelye, erpounding thys place. Thole that be in Jury, let them flye to the moūtaynes, sayeth: that is, thole ỹ be Chrisstians, let thē flye to the Scriptures. And again. Wherefore doth he in this tyme, wil al Chrisstians to fly to the Scriptures? Bicause in thys tyme, since heresy inuaded the churche, there can be no other proofe of true Christendome, neither any other refuge for Chrisstians minding to knowe the true fayth, but ỹ diuine Scriptures. For afore, it appeared by many signes, which was the church of Christ, and which it of ỹ Gentiles. But now whosoeuer wil seke it, can by no other meanes discerne which is the true church of Christe, but onely by the Scriptures. Also he saieth further. If a mā therfore be wylling to knowe the true church of Christ, howe should he know it in so great cōfusyon, but only by ỹ Scriptures? Yet further therfore ỹ lord knowig ỹ ther shuld be so great cōfusiō in ỹ latter dayes, therfore doth Christ cōmaūd ỹ thole ỹ be in chrisstianitye

not this

ſtianity & ſuch as be willing to ſtrēgthē thēſelues in liuely faith, ſhuld dye to no other thing but the Scriptures. Other wiſe if they reſpecte any other thinges, they ſhal likely take offece, & periſh, not vnderſtāding, which is the true church and ſo ſhal they fal into the abominatiō of deſolatiō, which ſtād in ỳ holy places of the churche. Baſilius in his moralls writeth thus. If, whatſoeuer is not of faith is ſinne, (as the Apoſtle ſayth) and faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the worde of God: whatſoeuer is beſides Scripture inſpired of God, is ſin. Alſo, in the Sermon of the confeſſion of faith. If God be faithful in al his words and hys commaundementes firme and ſtable, for euer, done in truth & iuſtice, to reiect any thing that is written, or to bring in any thing not written, is a ſwerueing from fayth & manifeſt pride. Thus much was ſpoken of the churche, her ſignes, authority and ſucceſſion afore the Lordes, and Biſhops, and diuerſe other, which heard theſame very attentiuely. But bicauſe hys oration had bin already ſomewhat lōg, it ſemed good then to entreate nothing of the

supper. Wherfore Beza modestly excu-
syng hymself, & declaryng also, that we
wer ready to shew a reason of ỳ article,
and as much as lay in vs to satisfy thē,
if they would commaund vs forthwith
to doe it. When Beza had ended, ỳ Car-
dynal beckned to Spensa to speak, and
to answere our reasons. He protestyng
with many woordes, that he had long
wyshed for this cōference, & disputatiō,
& ỳ he neuer lyked alwaies contrary to
those cruel punishmēts, which had lōg
tymes bene vsed toward them, answe-
red that those thinges were true, which
we had sayd of the churche, her sygnes
and succession. If we had so taught, and
spoken at ỳ first, we should neuer haue
needed to haue come to this controuer-
sy. But whereas we spake of ỳ callyng
into the churche, he muche marueled,
by whose authoritye, or by what cal-
lyng we entred into the churche, and
toke vpon vs to teache. Forasmuch as
we wer not instituted by any ordina-
ryes, neyther they at any tyme had
layd theyr handes vpon vs. And hereof
he gathered, ỳ we wer no good pastors
For by ordinary meanes (quoth he) you
wer not called, and muche lesse by er-

traordinary. For extraordinarye vocation, must bee proued eyther by miracles, as the callyng of Moses was, who was rayſed vp of God, to delyuer his people: or els by the witneſſe of the ſcripture, as ỹ callyng of Iohn, whoſe vocation is plainlye proued by a texte of Malachye, you want bothe. Wherefore it followeth, that youre miniſterye is vnlawfull. But as concernyng tradycions, and the interpretyng of ỹ ſcryptures, yf there ryſe any controuerſye, we ought to referre it (quothe he) to the ordinary ſucceſſours: as thoſe, to whō the holy ghoſt is promiſed, and are appoynted of God for the ſame cauſe.

He brought forth the exaumples of the olde Prieſtes and Leuites, whiche in tymes paſſe, in doubtful matters gaue ỹ people coũcel, & to whoſe iudgemente, the people were ſo bounde to ſtande, that from theyr decree, it was not lawfull for them to ſwarue, neyther on the ryghte hande, neyther yet on the left. And that we had many thinges by tradition, whiche no manne doubtes of, no, not we oure ſelues. As ỹ the father is without beginnyng, ỹ ſon equall in ſubſtaunce to him, alſo ỹ yong

chyldren ought to be Baptised, that Mary was a virgin after her deliuerance, & such lyke. So he affirmed, that those thinges, which are descended vnto vs from the auncient fathers, albeit they bee not written, yet are certainelye to be beleued, and no lesse to be allowed, than if they were confirmed by the authority of the Scriptures. That whatsoeuer is decreed by generall councels is certain, and that they can not erre in doctrine. But as to that, which is cyted out of Austine, that the first counsels ar amended by the later, that he said neuer was in doctrine. That there were onely three kept before Austines time. The Nicene councell against the Arrians, ỹ councel of Constantinople against the Macedonias, the first counsel of Ephesus against Nestorius, none of ỹ which was afterwardes amended. He denied the history of Paphuntius, as a thyng doubtful to be credited and further sayd that it perteined not to the purpose. At ỹ laste to geue the Cardinall occasion, which seking by al meanes to breake of the conference, willed him to entreate of the supper: he came to that question,

and

and with few wordes entreated, of the presence of the body of Christ in ỹ bred. And he red to ys, certaine places out of the bokes of Caluine, cõcealing neuerthelesse the name of the autour, saying that he merualled, if we would swarue from hym, to whom we geue most authoritie aboue the rest, & about ỹ end of his tale, he gaue vs those places to read.

Afore we answered Spensa, a Monk of that order, ỹ are clothed all in white, whose name they say was Xantus, stepped forth, enflamed with desire of contẽtion. And as though he were aggrieued that Spẽsa had talked somwhat gratiously, and modestly, begã to powre out his stomake and not able to stay any lõger, would not let vs answer, til we had first heard him. Then, he began to repeate those things, which Spẽsa had already spokẽ at large sawcig ỹ same w̃ scoffes & tauntes, which he semed to esteme, as ỹ greatest ornamẽts, & grace of his talke. For vs he cõpared, both to other auncient heretikes, & also to the Anabaptists, but at the last he became so mad, ỹ abusing ỹ authority of ỹ aũciẽt fathers, he affirmed, ỹ the foũdatiõ of ỹ traditiõs is

more sure, than of the scripture. For ỹ scriptures (quoth he) may by diuers interpretations bee wried sondry waies. And ỹ Cipzian, with the rest of the Aphzicans, was deceiued in this, ỹ they sayd. Chzist sayeth not, I am ỹ custom. But, I am the waye, truthe and lyfe. And that this his saying, heretikes dyd afterwardes commonly abuse. He alledged the authozitie of Tertullian, of the pzescriptions of heretikes, impery ously, & euen like a maister of ỹ scooles. (I will not saye foolyshly) willyng Beza, to reade the place by hym alledged, twice oz thzice, Tertullians wozdes be these. They alledge the scriptures, and with these their impudence, at the fyzst moue alwaye. Also that the disputation with scriptures, nothyng auaileth, vnlesse a man do altogether, eyther turne his stomake, oz his brayne. And again. Therfoze we must not appeale to the scriptures, neither contend wt̄ them, by whom there is eyther no victozye to be atchieued, oz if there be any, it is verye vncertain. Furthermoze Xātus said, ỹ god, otherwise thā he intended (foz that was his term) deliuered his doctryne in

writing,

writing, abusig the autority of Chrisostom, or of the author of the imperfecte work writtē vpō Mathew. And falslye touching ẏ proeme of ẏ work, wher ther is no suche thyng red. For these bee the wordes of ẏ author. After ẏ all the people of ẏ Jewes, was fallē into ẏ depth of sin, it was necessary ẏ then a law shuld be writen, & the tables geuē, & warning & threates by thē. And this we see, hapned, not only to the holy mē of the olde testamēt, but euē of the new also. For Christ left nothing in writyng to hys apostles, but in stede of writing, promised to geue thē the grace of ẏ holy gost He (quoth he) wil teach you al thinges. Then he added also, ẏ not onely ẏ word ἔγγραφον but also ἄγγραφον was geuen of god wherof came al traditions. Also for the rule to discerne traditions, ẏ not only the word, but also the nature & custom is to be considred. Accordyng to the saying of Paule the. i. Corint. xi. Nature it self teacheth you. And again, neyther, let vs not haue such a custome neyther the eraumples of the church of god, to be shorte, he rehearsed the same that Spensa had afore spoken.

Herto

Hereto Beza aunswered modestly at large, that to haue one selfe same tale doubled of diuers, is not mete for that conference or disputation, wherein any good ende or concorde should be sought For that of muche matter heaped together, the witts of man are confounded, so as therof, no good thing may aryse but confusion. That euen by their own iudgementes, if they had at any tyme vsed disputatiõ, this order could not be allowed. Neuertheles he hoped, that so farre as his memory would serue hym, to reherse their reasons, he would lightly satisfy them. And therwithal, he desired the Queene and the rest of ỹ nobles, hereafter to take some better order for their conference.

First therfore, wheras Spensa had layd, that he much meruayled, that we toke vpon vs to teache, forasmuch as the ordinary successors had neuer layde handes vpon vs: he answered, that this is not the chiefe signe of lawfull calling For the chiefe and substantiall partes be, the inquisition of learning and lyfe, and choyse and election. These be the ordinary meanes. To ỹ which although

the outwarde ceremonies of laying on handes, be not adioyned, yet the ministery is lawful notwithstanding. And that we, which wer there present to defende our doctrine, and the rest of oure felowes, wāted not also the third mark. And neded not to stay on that poynte, forasmuch as we were both chosen and confirmed. For handes were layed vpō vs, and we lawfully presented to oure churches, which accepted our ministery if it be obiected, that those of whom we were instituted and which layed their handes on vs, had no autority of the ordinary successors, neyther were chosen of the people: the answere is ready, that thinges being in such confusiō, and the ecclesiasticall order disordred, we dyd not stay for ẏ layeng on of their handes whose vicious lyfe, superstition, & false doctrine, we haue alwayes reprehēded. For in vaine should we haue sought, to haue bin allowed of them, whiche wyth deadly hate pursued ẏ truth, & the defēders therof. And ẏ we wanted not the presidētes of ẏ Prophetes, to whō nons were more deadly enemies, than the Priestes, forasmuch as thei themselues wer turned out of kind & no longer res-

pected their office therfore, forasmuche as against thē chiefly, the lord had styr-red vp the prophets, they ought not to seke for, at their hands the confirmatiō of ỳ autority, which they had receyued of god. Nether did they intrude thēsel-ues into the ministery but whē thei had once the cōmaūdemēts of god, thei wer cōpelled euē vñ the peril of theyr liues, to execute the same. And ỳ the same, we in these our times, ought to do also.

Furthermore, ỳ extraordinary calling, is not alwaies proued by miracles. For ỳ which we read of Moses, & the signes shewed by him, hapned not so, in all the rest. For by what miracles did Esay Daniel, Amos, & Zachary proue theyr calling? Or Paulus afore he did execute his charge. Did he stay for the layīg on of hāds: but to proue himself an apostle he did not so much cite his miracles, of the which he had great store, as ỳ fruite of his preachyng, & the cōuersiō of thos people whō ỳ lord had turned at his cal-
2. Cor. 12. ling. For writing to the Corinthiās he saith: You are ỳ seale of my apostleship in ỳ lord. The same truely say, of so gret a nūber, as by our preching haue, rece-ued ỳ gospel, against al the power of mā,

nether seke we any other cōfirmatiō of our calling & ministery. For the power & vertue of god hath sufficiētly shewed it self, forasmuch, as nether prysō, fier, banishmēt nor death could stay ẏsame. But quoth Spēsa, shew me but euē one example wͥin these. xv. C. yeares, like to your case. Although (quoth Beza) al hystories are not writtē, yet I doubte not but there may be foūd som. But if ther be none, it is no incōuenience to say, ẏ god in our daies hath done ẏ, which he neuer did afore. Afterwards we cam to traditiōs, which Spēsa made equal wͥ ẏ scripture, & Xātus preferred aboue it, as more certain thā it. But to ẏ place of Paul, which reuoketh vs to ẏ scripturs Spēsa āswerd, ẏ Paul speketh generally of doctrine. Which forthwͥ was āswered not of vs only, but of an other singularly wel learned mā, which was there presēt, that it is writē, ther πασα γραφη. Moreouer we said, it was new & strāge ẏ Xātus wold haue ẏ traditiōs more certain thā ẏ scripture, for ẏ by reasō of many interpretatiōs, may be vncertayne. For, what foūdatiō shal our faith haue, if we doubt of it? neither is it therefore incertain bicause many times mē misapply it, mangle it, & abuse it. For the

truthe abides alway one, which though it be somtymes darkned, yet continueth her force euen to ỹ last. Neither, bicause heretikes abuse it, ought we therefore, the lesse to fly to it. What wrõg he doth vs, in cõparing of Anabaptistes & other diuelish sectes, our writings wel testify. They admit onely som part of ỹ Scriptures. We accept & allow ỹ whole: they credit new reuelations. We say ỹ suche thynges are out of place, sithe Christe hath manifested al things fully vnto vs. As to ỹ place of Tertullã, wherof Iantus warned Beza, twice or thrice to read it: I (quoth Beza) haue read it more than xx. tymes, & am so well assured, that you shall finde it as I saye, as I perfectly know, ỹ you shal neuer finde in Chrisostom, that which you in his name haue falsely alleged: But do not deny, ỹ Tertullian did manye tymes passe his bondes. Neuertheless, if we cõsider towhat ende he spake it, you shal perceiue, how lightly, this which you thynke to make so much wõ you, shalbe answered. For this was his purpose, ỹ we should not in valne reason wõ heretikes. As Paule coũsaileth vs, after ỹ first or seconde admonition

admonition to leaue them. But what maner of heretikes were those? Suche as beig conuicted of their heresy by the worde of god, tryfled in vayne. What were the traditions, whiche he layde agaīst them? Such as are conteyned in the writinges of the Apostles, and pertayn to the chiefe articles of our fayth, and which the whole church professed. Fyrst therfore, we should haue ben cōuicted by the same worde, that if we be in any erroure, we might thereby bee withdrawen from it. But to bee confuted by tradition whiche is neither Apostolical, nor yet grounded on their writings, ỹ truely is asmuch, as to opē the gate to all deceite and vtterly to ouerturne the certaintye of oure faith. But why doth Tertullian himself vpbrayde the heretikes: saying: Let them beleue the scriptures, if they can do it beleuig agaynst the scriptures: except we ought to flye to them, and by them confute all errors? If these rytes whyche at thys daye our aduersaries haue brought in, were Apostolike, the churche would alwayes haue vsed them. Neither should they haue had so late beginning. Now,

forasmuche as the authors of them are wel knowē, & described in histories, certainly, it cannot be said, that they came first frō the Apostles. Falsly also is the name of traditions restrained to those things, which are deliuered frō hande to hande, in as muche as this woorde παράδοσις is referred, euē to those things ỳ are writen. Tertullia refuteth those that taught, ỳ the apostles had not sufficiently instructed vs in al things, ỳ thei might leaue a place for new traditiōs, as things reuealed by ỳ holy goost. Thei are wōt to say (quoth he) ỳ the apostles knew al, but neuertheles, put not al in writing. In both pointes blaming christ, as though he had either insufficiētly instructed his apostles, or els had chosē such simple mē, as were not able to vtter their mindes in writing. For what sober mā would beleue ỳ the apostles wer ignorāt in any thing whō the lord appointed as maisters &c. To ỳ Apostles therfore we must fly, whō christ sēt to preach. But how shall we be assured of their doctrine, but by their writings? Was not vnctiō geuē vnto thē, for this cause: ỳ they might deliuer and

wrote vnto vs, al things necessarye for our saluatiō, not to leaue vs douting, or vncertain. And herby is, ỳ place of Chrisostom easily discussed, which was earst aleged, where he saith, ỳ Christ left nothing in writing to his apostles. Would he therfore, ỳ thei shuld write nothing? No sure. But therfore he taught them, therfore he reueled it vnto them by his spirit, ỳ the same doctrine once written might remain for euer. But thei taught som things which are not cōtained in their writings. Neither ỳ truely do we deny. But we saie, ỳ there is nothing pertaining to our saluation. Whyche they haue not left in writing, other thīges which cōcerne rites, & ciuill discypline, they might easily teach by worde of mouth. But because ỳ same chaunge, according to time & place, they would not burthen our consciences therwith. As to the obiection of the names of vnbegotten, consubstātiality, trinity, baptisme of children, although the playne names & wordes be not in ỳ scriptures, yet the thinges themselues, that is to wit, the sence and grounde. Whereof the names are gathered, is playnelye

expressed and shewed in the scripture. These thinges were long debated, and sometymes the talke interrupted, Fautus spake muche, and affirmed a great while, that the virginitie of Mary after her deliuerance, coulde not bee proued by the scriptures. Neither yet ỹ yong childzen ought to be baptised. Neuertheleſſe, bothe were proued by the authoritie of the scripture. But he ceaſſed not to bable after the maner of ỹ Sophiſtes, as though he shoulde wynne the victorie, with triflyng and talking. His talke litle liked so honorable an audience, as it, that was full of bitternes, sharpeneſſe and stomake. Our men in the meane time, modeſtly stayd themselues. And albeit manye of our aduersaries spake at once confuſedly, yet we counted it better to forbeare than to be counted lyke to suche troubleſome talkers. At this alteration the Cardynall stepped in, and as though this queſtion had ben sufficiently debated, made an end therof. Or rather, whē he coulde no longer beare, ỹ proud & insolēt talke of Fātus he brake of his talk. Hereof, neuertheleſſe ỹ Sophiſtes, as if ỹ mater had ben cōcluded, or sētence geuen on

theyr side, wͤ vain arrogãce, perswaded thẽselues ẏ they had won the victorye. Neither is it any marueyle, for neither could we answer many of theyr reasõs, which they spake all at once, so that we could not vnderstand thẽ: nether would we interrupt the Cardinal in his talke. But he, taking on him ẏ part of a iudge dyd closelye conclude, ẏ whatsoeuer is written, ought to be referred to the authoritie of the church: & that her tradytions wer in all pointes to be obserued. Afterwardes, he turned his talke to the Lordes supper, affirming & protestyng that he woulde goe no farther, tyll we agreed of that article. For this (sayd he) is the controuersye that troubles most men. And sayd further, ẏ we had necessarily cõpelled him to talke therof. For ẏ in our fyrst metyng, we had plainlye shewed our mynde therof, which nowe filled al Fraunce with diuers & daungerous rumour, and farther was imprinted, and sette abrode. He obiected vnto vs, the confession of Awgspurge, & asked, whether we wold subscribe ther to. We asked agayne, whether they woulde bee contente to allowe it in all pointes, then they beganne to trifle.

Furthermoze, they obiected other o-
pinions of certain ministers of the Ger-
mans, which they said wer set vnto thē
neither wer they ashamed, to desyre &
intreate vs, to subscribe vnto thē. But
ỳ was done foz a policy, to thintente, ỳ
if we denied so to do, he might set vs at
strife with the Germans, and make vs
to be hated of them. And if we did agre,
then they as conquerours shoulde try-
umph ouer vs: and make a commō iest
of vs, as of light and vndiscrete persōs,
and so cōdemne our opinion. To auoid
this doubt, we answered that we came
thither, to defende ỳ confession of oure
faith and had no other commaūdemēt
oz authozitie of our churches. Therfoze
we required that we might folowe the
ozder of our confession: and that euery
article, might be seuerally and distinct-
ly weyed, so that it might plainlye ap-
peare, wherein we agree, and wherein
we disagree. Foz bothe the ozder of na-
ture, and also the waye to concozde re-
quireth, that those thinges, which be
playnest and easiest, should first be hād-
led. Furthermoze, foz asmuch as the sa-
cramentes depend vpon ỳ doctrine: It

is

is moſt neceſſary, firſt to reaſon of it. With al this we nothig preuailed. For the Cardinal continued in his purpoſe. We ſaw alſo ỹ he attempted this, ỹ we with inequall hande, might departe the conferre, that ỹ ſame might ſeeme to be broken of, by our ſtubbornelle. Which we thought good by al meanes to preuẽt. Therfore, we deſired to haue their writing to the which they would haue vs ſubſcribe, that we might deliberate therof. Therwithall they brought forth a copie of the article of ỹ lordes ſupper, take (as they ſaid) out of the confeſſion of Awgſpurge. But differing neuertheleſſe much therfrom, as it may wel appeare by the reading therof. For this it was, with a ſtedfaſt faith we cõfeſſe, that in the moſt reuerend ſacrament of the Lordes body and bloud, truly, really, and ſacramentally, the true bodye & bloude of Chriſt is offred, to the cõmunicantes, and receiued by them. Herer they added, the confeſſion of certayne miniſters of Wittenberge, ſet forth in the yere of our of our lord god. 1559. So we departed for that day, and the matter was deferred till the morowe.

Wherfore when we perceiued, that by this requeste they minded, to driue vs to this inconuenience, that eyther we should denie our own confession, or els breake of the conference, returnyng at the last, and calling on the name of god we determined rather to take the most vnequall and vniust conditions ỳ could be offred, than to geue any occasyon, wherby it might seme, that we fled the conference. Therfore, the nexte day we prepared our selues to aunswere, wayting alwayes, when we should be commaunded to come, when it was sygnyfyed to vs from the Queene, ỳ thesame was deferred for twoo dayes. In the meane tyme, diuers tales were spred of vs, as that we were ouercome, and could not proue our ministery lawfull, and our aduersaries reioyced as conquerors, as though our hearts failed, to be short, thei triumphed afore ỳ victory. But this theyr myrth cõtinued not lõg. For.ii. dales after, at oure returne we brought forth an answer, more at large, & more perfect, to those things which afore wer ouerpassed, & vsed such meanes as we could, to auoid the pollicy of oure

not

aduersaries.

adnersaries. It Beza rehersed in wrytig. The effect of it was this: That we greatly maruelled, ẏ wheras of late we had so aboundantly shewed, what is the church, what be her marks & how great her autority, ẏ any reasonable manne might be satisfied therw̃. Yet neuerthelesse, nothing was saide against it, but onely demaunded of vs, by what power we do administer the worde of GOD & sacramẽts. And yet nothing ouerpassed ẏ might make our cause odious & hateful. For to what purpose it was spoken we could not as yet wel perceue bicause we came not thither to administer the word or sacraments. But if an accompt shalbe demaũded of vs of those thinges which hertofore we haue don, thei must vnderstãd, ẏ emõges vs, there are two sorts of ministers. One of those ẏ teach in foren coũtreys, in ẏ which theyr calling is allowed. And of those it cannot iustly be demaũded here, wherfore they be ministers. Another sort is of thẽ whiche teach ẏ gospel in this realm: whom we thought not to be sẽt for hyther, to geue an accompt of their callig, but only to cõfer & dispute of doctrine. Other-

wise they might seme to bee sent for to plead their cause, as for some crime. Which we cannot think ỳ the Queene or nobles in any wise minded. And yf ỳ same be required, vnder ỳ colour of cõference & reasoning, it is verye far frõ the meanes of cõcord, & reconcilement. For we cannat enter into such questions & demaundes, wout the greate offence of ỳ bishops, & other the Lords of spiritualtie. But none of vs all at anye time minded it, but purposed onelye to prosecute this holy purpose. I pray you if two parties agree to conferre, & afterwardes the one demaunde of the other. By what power do you this: must it not needes ensue, that by suche questions they shal fall at variance. As for example, setting a part the bishops, and other the spiritualtie of this realm, whõ we are lothe to offende, let vs admytte that some straunge bishop enquireth of vs, by what authoritye, we minister the woorde and Sacramentes: And we againe aske of hym, by whom he was chosen and instituted: Whether by the voices of the elders of his church, whether he were desyred of the people,

whether

whether there wer any inquisitiõ made of his life & doctrine? He woulde soone say yea. But he would soone be proued a lier. Whereof we desier no other witnes, thã their own cõsciẽce which heare vs, & know ẏ whole matter perfectly. If he would obiect against vs, that we are no ministers, because we wante the laying on of hands: we would reply again, ẏ he is no bishop, because in institutions of hym, those things wer not obserued, which are appointed, for the chiefe & substantiall poyntes, by the law of god. And when our talke wer more, whether perhappes we would goe farther, and say in this sort. You boaste of the laying on of handes, which whosoeuer lacketh, you thynk no perfect minister: what if you wante the two other points which are the chiefest? Namely, inquisition of lyfe & learning, & the election of ẏ elders of your church? may ye not then, much lesse thã we, bragge of the name of a pastor? It was decreed by ẏ councel of Chalcedon, ẏ the ordynation of ẏ bishop, or priest, shoulde bee frustrate, & of no force, which is not specially appointed to some one churche.

And

And forasmuche as they would haue it doyde to the iniury of hym ẏ ordayneth it, much more may we obiect thesame, agaynst the bishop, ẏ thus reasoneth wͤ vs, inasmuch he is destitute of the two chiefest conditions, prescribed by the apostle. Another thyng also, may bee added hereto, which we speak vnwilling, neuerthelesse we are enforced therto, ẏ euery man maye perceiue, ẏ this disputation of our vocation may not be touched wͤout great peril. If we should ask of thatsame bishop, who layde their hãdes on him, or whether he bought it not with money, what would he aunswer? He would deny ẏ he bought it, and he would say that those bishops layd hãds on him which had autority therto of the church. Again, if we should enquire how much his authoritie cost hym, he would say he bought it not, but yet he woulde confesse, ẏ he gaue some thousandes of crownes. As though he shoulde saye, I boughte not the bread, but the corne, wherwͤ the bread was made. This reasonyng, if it should be parted by the autority of the coũcels & canõs of the churches, woulde shame a greate many byshops & pastours.

1. Tim. iii a.

Titus. i

And

And sure we would not enter therein, least any man should be offēded therby. Neyther wyll we yet touche it, or seke to reuenge oure selues, only we mynde to shew, ỳ we dyd of late purposely answere shortly & briefly, to those thynges, ỳ wer layd agaynst vs, for ỳ we woulde haue all gently and myldly handled. But as for the Lords supper, we spake more sparely therof, bearyng with the infirmitie of some, whiche not accustomed to ỳ doctrine, are wont to be offended, assoone as they heare anye thing, ỳ is strange, or vnwōted to thē. And truly, we had rather, ỳ thei thēselues shuld learne the same, out of the auncièt writings of the Doctors of the church, thā by vs, which we hoped should haue come to passe, if my lord Cardinal had kepte his promisse. For he promised spēly, to instruct vs chiefly in this article of the lords supper, out of their writings whiche wrote therof, wīn. v. C. yeres after Christ: so ỳ we would now agree to receyue the light, if it appered, ỳ thesame was hitherto hiddē frō vs. To satisfye this our expectatiō, or rather the expectatiō of an infinite nūber of mē, he sepe

rated this article, frō others verye ne-
cessary, & gaue it to vs alone. And requi-
red vs to subscribe to it: saying ỳ other-
wise the conference would be brokē of,
yf we should plead our cause in prison,
you woulde scarce vse suche talke to-
wardes vs, as to saye subscribe here-
to, or els we condemne you. Certainly,
this is no part of your charge. For that
office, which ye now professe, requyreth
ỳ if we walk in error, you should reduce
vs, beyng once cōuict therof, into ỳ way
and exhort vs with wholesom doctrine.
And chiefly those, which offer thēselues
to yelde an accompt of theyr fayth, (by
the scriptures.) And truly, if thys kinde
of condemnation be straunge, certain-
ly muche more straunge is the way and
meanes, wherby you procede to ỳame.
We came together here chiefly for .ii.
causes. First, to render an accompte to
god, to you, & to ỳ whole worlde of oure
fayth. Not to trauel for gods cause, the
kings, & the whole kingdom, & to fynde
some way and meanes, wherby ỳ trou-
bles late stirred in religion may be ap-
peased. Now if we bee reiected, or dys-
missed, wout leaue or liberty to dispute

whatso-

whatsoeuer shalbe done vnto vs, shalbe declared to all Christendome: & the olde tumultes shalbe nothyng appeased, as chei know right wel, which go about to preuēt it. If ỳ matter did only belōg to vs ỳ are here present, truly at your pleasure, & wout peril, as farre (as mā may iudge) you might dayly w̄ vs. But you must cōsider ỳ we stand here, in ỳ name of al those, ỳ professe ỳ gospel, not onely in this realme, but euen in Swicerlād, Poole, Germany, England and Scotland, whiche all looke for som certayne & happy end of this assēbly. What may they thinke, when in stede of disputatiō & conference, which was promised vs, they shall vnderstande that ỳ tenth part of one article was offred to vs, wyth this addition: Subscribe to this, or els go no further. And yf we doe subscrybe what shall you be the better: They that sente vs, wyll desyre to knowe whether we were compelled therto by force, or els conuicte, by good & sure argumente. So what els shall happen of this order, which you now begin to take, thā great offence and grudge: wee beseche the Queene therfore, ỳ she wyll not suffer

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this

this holy purpose, to be broke of, but cõ-
maund ỳ certain learned mete men, be
chosen out, ỳ will wyllynglye conferre
with vs. Neuertheles, least we should
seme to answer nothyng, to those thyn-
ges, that haue ben obiected agaynst vs,
whatsoeuer M. Spẽsa gaue vs writen,
out of Caluins booke, we receyue & al-
lowe. But as to the article, whyche my
Lord Cardinal offred vs, take or rather
gelded out of the cõfessiõ of Awgspurge:
we say, there are many thynges therin
to be considred. First, ỳ the whole con-
fession should haue ben offred vnto vs:
For it is agaynst reason, to proffer vs
one article without the reste. Then we
woulde knowe whether of theyr owne
heads priuately (whiche we are lothe to
think, neuertheles we woulde gladlye
knowe the truth therof) or elles in the
name of all the Lords, they offer vs the
confusion of Augspurge: that al doutes
taken away, we may more freely con-
ferre. For so it would come to passe, ỳ
thanks should generally be geuẽ to gõd,
for ỳ my L. Cardinal, & ỳ rest of ỳ lords,
relect trãsubstãtiatiõ, which now, by ỳ
cõmon cõsent of al churches, aswell in

Germany,

Germany, as in other realmes is condemned. If we be required to subscribe to any writing, it is mete also, that the Cardinal of Lorraine, in the name of al his, should subscribe the same also. That the churches by whom we were sente, may perceiue, that we met not altogether vnprofitably about these matters. If my Lord Cardinall, wil constantlye perseuer in that mynde, that he wil admit the whole confession of the Germaines, we hope ỳ we shall come nier, and at the last to that point, that we shal easely satisfy you: And shewe a ready way to peace and concorde. In the meane tyme, we affirme, that Christe is present in the vse of his Supper, and there doth offer, geue, and exhibite vnto vs, his body and bloud, by the power and operation of the holy ghost. And if we do receiue, eate & drinke spiritually and by fayth, the selfe same bodye that dyed for vs, and the selfe same bloud, ỳ was shed for our saluation. That we may be bones of his bones, and flesh of his flesh. And that we may be quickned thereby, and receiue, whatsoeuer is necessary to our saluation. We desired

also of the Queene, if this satisfied her not, because it is hard, to entreate of so great a mystery with fewe wordes, that we might speake therof, in more large and ample sort. And that we were ready, to do it, whensoeuer the Cardinall of Lorraine, would shew his authorities out of the olde doctours. Moreouer, we earnestly desired, that there might bee some equall, and tolerable order of conference or disputation, taken, suche as we desired, euen from the beginning. And we protest that therby it should appeare to all men, that we came not thither, to stirre contention, but rather, to finde meanes of concord, in soūde doctrine. For we desired nothing els, but that those thinges restored to ỹ Lordes Supper, which were takē from it, and taking away those thinges that were ill added, it might be restored to the olde perfection. Which to compasse, we decreed not to spare our liues, but in so good a cause, to yelde and render oure liues and hearts, to God, the king, the nobles, and the common quietnesse, as well of this realme, as of all Christendome. With this oration oure aduer-

faries were greatly amased, but chiefly, with the first parte thereof, wherby they sawe the glory of their succession and callig stained. For they could haue heard nothing, more greuous or vnwelcome to them. Therfore the Cardinall freatting, & much disquieted, said: we were now come to a good poynt, y we were not content to inuade the dignitie of Priestes. But we muste also touche the kynges maiestie. For he priuyly wrought to bring vs in hate, as though we had accused the king, for taking away the elections of Bishops & Abbates, as though the fault were in y kyng that none of them were chosen, but as for themselues, they sayd, they were ordeined and instituted, by the king, to whom the people had geuen al their right and power therin. Wherefore, if we would disproue that, we must speake to the kyng, to whom it belonged, to maintayne his lawes and ordinaunces. And that we were ignoraunce how they were ordeined, when all the people wer come together by the knolling of bells, and therefore gessed, of thinges that we knew not.

To conclude all hys talke was full of
tauntes, whereby he thought to kyndle
the Queenes wrath towardes vs, as
though, we accused the kyng of Tiran-
ny. But that slaunder was easely auoi-
ded. For it was forthwith shewed, that
therby is the confusiō, of the true eccle-
siasticall order and state, made muche
more manifest. For that kinges were
faine to set to their handes, to reforme
that horrible disorder, which ambition,
enuy, contention and such like, had lōg
tyme bredde amonges the Canonicall
Priestes, Monkes, and all the rest of ỳ
ecclesiasticall order. And could by no o-
ther meanes remedy that sore, than by
taking from them the liberty of choyse
which so long tyme, they had shamefull
ly, and beastly abused. And as to their
common forme of ordaining Bishops,
and pastours, it is right well knowen,
what a iest it is, and therefore we wyll
waste no time in speakig of it. For we
entred not into that matter, to handle
it at large, but onely to shew that oure
mynistery, which in thys ruine, and so
great confusion, of the church, the Lord
hath rayled, is lawful, and vnworthely

mocked

mocked at. You your selues began first to talke thereof, (quoth the Cardinall) you first inuaded our flocke. We came not into your garrisons, but you into oures, Neither would I wish you shuld thinke your selues as good as we, nor talke as ys woulde to youre felowes. Our estate is somewhat higher than yours. Whē we saw him speake cruelly in this sort, we thought good to prouoke him no longer, least we mighte seme oure selues to haue hindered the disputation. Then he began againe to be earnest on vs, to know some reason why we would not subscribe to the cōfession of Augspurge. We answered him againe, ý it was vnreasonable, to require ý of vs, which do not allow it in al poyntes. But, if they thēselues would first subscribe, it would be ý easier way to reconcile vs to thē. And ý we knowe not, whether he of hys owne head, or els by the cōsente of al the rest, did put in that bill, whiche he would haue subscribed. I (quoth the Cardinall) am swoorne to no man. And therefore, will I neither subscribe to the confession of Awgspurge, neyther yet to you.

And yet I will be ready to subscribe both to them and you, if you thinke truely. And ỳ I offer nothing to you of mine owne head, these my brethrẽ that be present, can witnesse. Which when he sayd he turned his body, towardes the rest of the Cardinals and Bishops. Which neither graunted to his saying by word or gesture, nor greatly withstode it. Therfore, for asmuche as they would not subscribe, we sayd, they coulde not require it of vs. This done and appeased, the Cardinall entred into talke of ỳ Lordes Supper, and set his common doctors to vs. Maister Spensa, began to urge the presence of the body of Christ in his Supper, so that he enclosed the body within the bread. And said, it could no otherwise be imagined, but the body must nedes be ioyned with ỳ bread, and reproued vs, as though we swarued from our maister Caluine, whose boke he had alleaged. We sayd, we differred frõ hym in nothing, and that we were ready to subscribe to all the contentes of that boke. Then he urged the name of substaunce whiche Caluine vseth. We answered, that we wont to

vse

yse that terme, least men should thinke, that we fain either some new or ymaginary body, or some phantastical receiuing therof, but neuertheless, that we are no otherwise made partakers, of ỳ body, than by fayth, and power of the holy ghost. Hereto the right reuerende maister Peter Martir, added many thinges, and according to his singuler learning, besides many other thinges, which perteine to the order of ỳ church he handled this question also, shortlye, plainly, and eloquently. He answered also diuers things which both the Cardinall, and Spēsa had obiected in their orations in the first meting, and chiefly those things, which concerne the authoritie, and amendmente of counsels, Which so pricked the Cardinal, that he would no more reply vnto hym. And whyles he was handling and declaring diuers matters more playnly, because he spake somewhat after ỳ Italiā maner, the Cardinal rose, and sayd in a great chafe, that he would talke wyth hys owin countrey mē. And yet martir spake so plainly & distinctly, ỳ not onlyȳ Cardinal being skilful in ỳ Italiā tōg,

but also euery ignorant man, myghte well perceiue him. Spensa somewhat talked to him, therefore cõmending him aboue the rest, that no man this day liued, that had written more largely or coptously of this question than he. Afore Spensa was answered: a Spanyarde, one of those, that call themselues Iesuites, desired that he might haue leaue to speake. His talke was sharp, & bitter and nothing pleased the audience. He assayed to turne al mennes myndes. From hearing this cause, as it whiche was already sufficiently knowen. The sutteltes and crafftes wherewith heretykes are wont to creepe into mennes heartes, he applied to vs. Calling vs foxes, and dogges. And at the last concluded that we ought to be reiected, and referred, to the counsel of Trent, which the Pope of Rome had proclaymed, saying that we should haue free comming thither, and the Popes safeconduyte, that there the controuersies of fayth & religion ought to be iudged, of ẏ which, wemẽ, souldiors or other not exercised in diuine matters, were not mete to be iudges. Thus as it were, perswading

the

the Queene, he willed her to send vs to Trent. Hitherto his talke, although it sauored bitter hate, and malice, yet to some semed graue and seuere. But at ỳ laste, he played the foole so kindly, as if it had ben in a stage. For when he entreated of ỳ Lordes Supper, & prompsed by a playne similitude to proue the presence therein, he sayd it was euen lyke, as if any Prince, when he hath atchieued victory on his enemies, to celebrate the remembraunce therof, would institute yearly playes, whereby bothe his warre, and victory might be represented to al mennes eyes. And if any man in those playes shoulde represente the person of the Prynce, That would so much the more moue ỳ mindes of ỳ beholders, to remẽber it, but if ỳ king himself would be prẽsẽt, & shew hymselfe there, then thesame would be most noble and excellent. Euen so sayd he, that Christ himselfe, when he instituted the remembraunce of his passion would also be present, and inthe same. About the ende of hys oration he assayed to enflame the Queene agaynst vs,

and made many mournfull cõplaintes fayning himselfe to wepe, after the maner of those iesters, which ar commonly apte to counterfayte any gesture. Hereto Beza aunswered, that the Spaniard talked, as though we were alreadye conuict of heresy. But forasmuchas no man hitherto, hath shewed vs oure erroz, he might haue done much better, if he had reserued, the scoffes which he bestowed on vs, to hymselfe and his felowes. Bicause we can not se how they touche vs. And as to his councel, that ỹ Queenes maiestie was not so bare of counsell, that she neded it. But that she and her councell sawe well inough, what is best to be done, and by what meanes, they may prouide for common quietnesse. But that which he sayd of ỹ Lordes supper, that he made nothing els of, than a play of ỹ history of Christ (bicause it was to blasphemous & beastly) beyng ouerpassed, he turned toward master Spensa. He vrged the playne wordes of the Lord. Thys is my body, and the consent of the Euãgelistes, whiche nothing differ therein. We aunswered that thesame Euangelistes

sayd

sayd, thys is my bloud of the new testa-
ment. And an other. Thys cup is the
new Testament, in my bloud. Which
without a figure can not be vnderstan-
ded. And hereby it appeareth, that it is a
Sacramental maner of speach. Which
Austine teacheth most plainly in his.
xviii. Epistle to Boniface. If the Sacra
mentes (quoth he) had not a certayne
lykenesse, of those thynges, wherof thei
are Sacramentes, they wer no Sacra-
mentes at al. Of thys lykenesse moste
cōmonly, they take the names of those
thyngs, wherof they are Sacramēts.
Lyke as therfore, after a certayne ma-
ner, ỳ Sacrament of the body of Christ
is the body of Christ, and ỳ Sacramēte
of ỳ bloud of Christ, is ỳ bloud of christ,
so is also the Sacrament of fayth, faith
it selfe. But Spensa sayde that ỳ letted
not, but ỳ we ought simply, & without
figure to credite the wordes of ỳ Lord.
We sayd: that a Sacramentall maner
of speache, coulde not be without fi-
gure. But if there be a figure in our
Sacramentes (quoth Spensa) they shal
not then muche differ, from the Sa-
cramentes of the old Testamēt, which

are

are altogether figuratiue. And we say, that they were a figure and shadowe of that truthe, which was fulfilled to vs in Christ. Otherwise, we must nedes confesse, that they were figures of a figure. Which is most vnreasonable, we denyed that consequence, bicause ẏ figures, appointed by God in the olde Testament, are referred to the truth it selfe, wherof ẏ fathers wer partakers, but a farre of, before the commynge of Christ. But we are nye at hande. After he was offred for vs. Neither do we say that we are as yet vnder figures, but ẏ we nede yet, as long as we lyue in this body, visible signes and Sacraments, and in them we say ther are figuratiue or Sacramentall maners of speache, which neuerthelesse proueth not, but ẏ we haue the truthe, notwithstandinge, these signes. To cōclude we agree with Bernarde saying. The truth is set before me: but in a Sacramēt. The Angel is fed with the meale of the corne, or the perfect grayne. But I must be contēt, with the barke of the Sacramentes, wͭ the braūe of his flesh, with the chaffe of the letter, and the cloke of fayth.

Bernard. sermone. xxxiii. sup Cantica,

But

But sure, howsoeuer these be tempered and swetened, with the aboundaūce of spirit and fayth, certainly the barke of the Sacrament, and the fine boulted meale of the corne, fayth and hope, remembraunce, and presence, eternity & present tyme, the countenaunce & the glasse, the ymage of God, and ẏ forme of a seruaunt, are not like pleasaunt in tast. Wherby it is well proued, that we truely are made partakers of ẏ truthe, but do not yet fully enioy thesame, bicause oure weakenesse requireth the Sacramente, the barke and the cloke. After thys communication with Spēsa was ended, there stepte vp an other doctoure, one of ẏ Sorbonistes, urging agayne. By a suttel and crafty meanes as he thought hymselfe the exposition of these the Lordes wordes. This is my body, & whē he asked what we thought was meant by thys pronoūe, (hoc) we annswered that bread was meant therby, and that the body was speken therof, so ẏ therby we might wel perceiue ẏ the bread is a signe of the body. They on the contrary syde: Sayd ẏ this pronoūe. (hoc) is of ẏ neutre gender, & cannot

not by the rules of Grammer, be referred to the bread, but was individuum vagum. And onely to note the body, as if a man should saye. This is oyle. This is hony. Thys is a building. And suche lyke. Therein imitating Durand. Whom Gardyner also an open enemye of the Ghospell, and alleaged by them, dyd folowe. We shewed, that that repugned wyth the nature of a Sacramente, forasmuche as, if it lacke a signe, if it be brought to nothynge, or made as nothyng, it ceaseth to bee a Sacrament. And it is a great maruell that none of the olde fathers could see thys fiction of individuum vagum. But thys satisfied them not. And therefore repeating thesame continually, wyth great cryes, they ceased not after the maner of the Sorbonistes, to babble til nyght. Yea and one of them, foolishlye & impudently threatned Beza. Saying: Oh, I would we had thee within our colledge. We in the meane tyme eyther helde our peace, or modestly obiected certayne argumentes, til the noise wer whusshed, but bicause they would nedes eyther wynne, or seeme to wynne, with

trifling

trifeling or loude crying, we preuayled nothyng. Wherefore to be shorte, we sayd, that all the auncient fathers made with vs, and we woulde be iudged by them. Neither did we depart, tyll the Cardinal promised vs, to sende vnto vs the authoritie of Austene, & other auncient fathers, whereby oure opinion is condemned. But we could neuer haue them. He meant hereafter to conferre by wrytyng, bicause he saw that by our talke, God opened the eares of many, but chiefely of the nobles. Afterwardes the order of our disputatiō was altered. For there were fyue chosen to conferre with vs, and those such as passed all the reste, in learning, witte, and modestye. Monluke the Byshop of Ualētyne, Calius Sigensis an other Bishop, the Abbot of Saligne, the Abbot of Botillery, and doctor Spensa. Agaynst those wer chosen on our part, doctor Peter Martir, Theodore Beza. Augustine Harlorate, John Spina. Nicholas Gallasius We agreed of ẏ order, place, tyme, and secretaryes, whyche shoulde regyster the questions proposed, and the reasons on eyther part.

And

And then the selfe same day, which was the last of September, we began to deliberate with what order we should begin the disputation. We wished and desired, that we might orderly prosecute euery article of our confession. Whiche request to be reasonable they thē selues confessed, saying that they coulde not allow that prosperous order, that began at the last, yet bicause we were alreadye entred into that article, they thought it good to finish it, afore we came to the rest.

Therfore the next daye at oure returne, we entreated of the presence of ỹ body of Christ in his Supper. The Abbote of Saluine, brought forth a place out of an auncient Greke copy of Cirillus a Bishop of Ierusalē, wherof there was no long reasoning, bicause it made much with vs. At the last, after muche alteration we concluded thus. That in that respect, that fayth makes those thynges presente, that are promysed, & that same fayth, doth moste truely receiue the body and bloud, of our Lorde Iesus christ, by ỹ vertue of ỹ holy goste,

in that respecte, we confesse the presence of his body and blonde in his holy supper, in the whiche he offereth, giueth, and exhibyteth, truly the substance of hys body, and blonde, by the operacion of hys holye Spirite. And we doe receiue & eate, spyritually and by fayth that very body, whiche dyed for vs, ỳ we may be bones of hys bones, & flesshe of his flesshe, ỳ therby we may be quickned & receyue whatsoeuer is necessary to our saluacio. A coppye of this conclusion those that cõferred with vs, gaue to the rest of the bysshops and doctours ỳ were at Poyssye. But they alowed it not, wherefore, the nexte daye, another was proposed vs, wherein there was somewhat chaunged. For that whiche we attribute to fayth, it attributed to ỳ worde. That when we perceiued was done of purpose, ỳ it beyng left doubtfull, euery man might interprete the sense therof at his plesure, least any ma should therby be deceiued, we wouldo by no meanes admitte for, forasmuche as we came together there, to prouide for the quietnes of our conscience, we endeuoured, as muche as laye in vs

to withstand all erroz and doubte: Neuertheles, least we should seme to stick vppon wordes, we were contented, ỹ they shoulde chaunge the fozms of the wryting, so they altered nothing of ỹ sense. This fozme therfoze that folowes they thought better, and promised to moue all the byshops to agree there to. We doe confesse, that Christe in hys holy supper, doth truly offer, gyue, & exhibite, the substance of hys body and bloud, by ỹ operacion of the holy ghost: and that we receyue, and eate, sacramentallye, spirytually, and by fayth, hys bodye that died foz vs, that we may be bones of his bones, and fleshe of his fleshe. That there by we maye receyue lyfe, and whatsoeuer pertayneth to our saluacõ. But forasmuch as faith groũded vppon the worde of god, doth make those thynges presente, whiche are promysed: by thys fayth we acknowledge, that we trulye, and verelye, receyue the true and naturall bodye of oure lorde Jesus Christe, by the vertue of the holy ghost. In this respect, we cõfesse ỹ presence, of ỹ bodye & bloude, of oure lorde, & sauioure Jesus Christ, in his supper.

All

All thoughe thys forme litle differed from the other, yet they hoped that it wouide be better alowed of the lordes. And therfore they toke it with them, to communicate vnto them. We sayde ỳ we woulde in lyke maner, communicate it with oure brethren, and reserue oure selues libertye, either to adde or erpoũd any thinge therin, as we should thinke good.

When the Cardinalles had sene this forme, some of thẽ allowed it very well & reioyced, as though we were tourned to them. And diuerse tales were thereupon spreade of vs. But when it was perused by the doctours as well Sorbonists, as others, they lightly chaũged their opinion. They added therto therfore, (as we here say) their oppynion, whereby they shewed, what they thought wanted in it, or wherefore they thought it was not to be allowed. Also, they made almost a Tragedy, betwixt ỳ bishops, and those which had conferred with vs, and had put in ỳ forme of this agremente of this article, among thẽ: as thoughe they did either agree wt vs, or mocke with them. But because it is

no part of my purpose, to writ their co-
tentions. I will willingly leaue it. And
now I come to the declaration of oure
oppinion, as concernynge the presence
of ỳ body of Christ in his supper, which
we reserued, free to our selues, least
any doubtfulnes, bycause of ỳ shortnes
of our first writing, myght breed any
doubte or error.

We affirme, that no distãce of place
may let our coniunction with the body
and blonde of Christ, bycause ỳ Lordes
supper, is a heauenly thinge. And al-
thought in the earthe, we receiue with
the mouthe of oure body, the breade &
wyne, the true Sacraments, & sygnes,
of the body and blond of Christ: yet by
fayth, & the helpe of the holy ghost, our
mindes to whom this foode doth chiefly
belonge, caried vp to heauen, feede on
the present body & blonde. And in this
respecte we saye also, that the body is
ioyned with the breade, and the blonde
with the wyne. But no other wyse thã
sacramentally, ỳ is to say, not accordig
to place or situatiõ, but bycause they do
effectuously signify, ỳ God giueth it to
those that faythfullye communicate &

they

they trulye receiue it by faythe.

Hereby it appereth in what sorte we thinke, of the presence of the bodye of Christ, in the Use and Ministration of his Supper. For we admytte, neither Transubstantiation nor Consubstantiation. Yea we refuse all maner presence, wherby Christes body is thought to be in the earth, without quãtity: or is affirmed to be any otherwher than in heauen. We vse the name of substaunce to signifye, that we meante not our fayth, of anye fayned bodye or phantasme, neyther of the vertue only of Christs passion, or his merites only (which neuertheless, we confesse to be the spirituall eatyng of Christes flesh) but euen of the true and natural bodye of the sonne of God, which he toke of ỹ virgin Mary, and afterwards was crucified, and raised again for vs, and now resteth in heauen, till suche tyme as yt shal com to iudge the quick & the dead.

And this was the ende of the Conference. For they that conferred with vs beyng yll intreated of theyre fellowes, came not agayne. Neyther were anye other chosen in theyr roomes. Neyther

since that tyme, dyd the Bishoppes signefy any thing vnto vs, but though we oftentimes desired, that we myght goe forwardes, & handle ỳ rest, that wer yet vntouched, we could vnderstãd nothig of their mindes therin, but ỳ they minded to depart, & wer desirous to referre all thinges, to the councell of Trente. Therefore, ozdre being taken for the leauying of a subsedy (wherof perhaps they were more careful, than of anye thing els,) & deliuering vp to the king the articles, whereof they had agreed among themselues, not making anye accompte of vs, but leauing vs in the court, they al repaired to their homes.

Finis.

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